

# ***JPRS Report***

## **Near East & South Asia**

***INDIA***

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# Near East & South Asia

## INDIA

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1 April 1992

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### **Threat of U.S. Trade Sanctions Renewed**

92AS0727A Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
8 Mar 92 p 1

[Article by R. Akhileshwari]

[Text] Washington, March 7—The United States renewed its threat to retaliate with trade sanctions against India if it did not provide protection to US patents.

A senior official of the US Trade Representative office Joshua Bolten told the Senate Subcommittee on International Trade that despite progress on several issues such as copyrights, trademarks and access to Indian market for American movies and songs, India had "refused to change its position on providing adequate and effective patent protection." If there is no progress on the issue which is under discussion between the two Governments, "We are fully prepared to act in the near term," said Bolten.

US had deferred retaliatory action against India with the end of a nine-month investigation on February 26 in view of the progress made on issues other than patent protection which it considered "unreasonable and burdened or restricted US commerce."

Bolten said the options for trade action against India, suggested by the inter-agency committee set up by US trade representative Carla Hills, in case India failed to comply with US demands for patent protection, were being evaluated.

Agitated Senators demanded retaliatory action against India for its failure to prevent piracy of American patents that resulted in an annual loss of \$200 million to the US. They maintained that failure to punish India would encourage other countries on "priority list" to ignore the US demand and the credibility of special 301 provision itself would be at stake.

Bolten however argued that "very important progress" had been made with India on the issues involved and that this should be exploited instead of "throwing away the baby with the bath water."

He also reassured the senators that leniency towards India did not mean a tradeoff for access to Indian markets for American goods. The senators had taken objection to Bolten's statement that trade action against any Country could result in retaliatory action against American goods in that Country. Senator Max Baucus asked belligerently, "What do [we] have to fear from India if retaliation is taken? Let's find out."

Bolten argued that India had decided to submit to Parliament in the budget session, legislation to provide rental rights for videos, improve protection for sound recordings and improve enforcement of copyrights.

Bolten said more significant was the Indian Government's decision to lift restrictions on import and distribution of American movies providing access to its huge movie and video market considered the biggest in the world.

### **Analyst Sees Potential U.S. Role in Nuclear Controls**

92AS0639A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 7 Feb 92  
p 4

[Article by Jawaharlal Kaul: "Family Planning of Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] Ronald F. Lehman, II is not the name of a Middle Ages European emperor. It is the name of the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. These days he is very busy in the campaign to stop the spread of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons and ballistic missiles. Recently, while returning from attending the regional disarmament conference in Kathmandu, he met with and explained his "mission" to the prime minister, defense minister, and other officials in New Delhi. Lehman is very happy that a campaign against weapons, especially nuclear weapons, is gaining momentum. According to him, he started on a very small scale and moved very slowly, however, there has been such a rapid progress during the last few years that it would take several volumes to publish the details of the agreements already signed.

The reason for his visit to India was not this success. He is so unhappy with India and Pakistan that he had to come here. He is unhappy because South Asian nations are stubbornly refusing to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). He did say that the present government has adopted a more flexible attitude, however, it is not enough for some concrete results. By concrete results he meant that India promises not to make nuclear weapons and facilitate the international agency's inspection of India's nuclear installations, implements, and laboratories to ensure that it is not making nuclear weapons secretly.

Mr. Lehman's talks correctly reflect the U.S. Government's thinking. He says that the process to reduce nuclear weapons started after the talks among the former Soviet Union, United States of America, and European countries. If this process continues in other parts of the world, nuclear weapons will disappear from the world before the beginning of the next century. The NPT is the vehicle to achieve this goal. This goal has been achieved in Europe, Russia, and the United States of America. In Asia, both Koreas are ready to sign an agreement to inspect each other's nuclear installations. Only India and Pakistan are resisting it. Plans are also being implemented to prevent the spread of other destructive weapons, especially chemical weapons, in addition to nuclear weapons. After the UN action in Iraq on the chemical weapons, European manufacturers will not help any country secretly. These weapons can no longer

be used in regional warfare. There was some worry about nuclear weapons and missiles that were with the independent republics after the disintegration of the Soviet Union. This danger was taken care of after a federation of nations was established and these weapons were put under central control.

This reasoning is not wrong and the image that emerges from it shows that India's not signing the NPT is not appropriate. We should give up this inflexible attitude. However, there are many anomalies in this logic that the U.S. Government is trying to hide in rhetoric. There is no stipulation in the NPT, which can force a country to stop making nuclear weapons. Those who have weapons can be advised to stop making them gradually by mutual agreements and those countries that have no nuclear weapons can be stopped from making progress in this direction. If all countries in the world become members of NPT today, the world will be divided into two groups: Those who have nuclear weapons and those who can never make them. How can peace be established in such a situation?

During the Cold war, world peace was threatened because of the dread of confrontation between the nuclear powers. This led to a weapons race. The need for cuts in nuclear weapons was felt by the two superpowers because a nuclear war would destroy both superpowers. For years the theory of Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) was practiced. This was based on a fear of each other—if you destroy me, I will destroy you. The definite fear of destroying each other is what kept both from fighting. However, if the Western nation has realized that the nuclear weapons race is very expensive and should be stopped, then why do they want to have a limited number of nuclear weapons? Actually, a limited number of weapons is more dangerous because it causes imbalance in nuclear weapon holdings. The United States has benefited from this imbalance of power. In the balanced situation, and in the continuing race, no nation was willing to take the risk of starting a war. There was no escape in a war of equals. Now, this is possible and so is the possibility of a war.

One faulty result of the NPT is that the United States, Russia, France, and Great Britain have nuclear weapons and these are considered safe. However, if India gets a nuclear bomb, then it will be considered a danger to world peace. While answering a question related to this issue, Mr. Lehman replied, "There is a serious regional tension in South Asia; therefore, there is more possibility of a mistake here. The situation is more different in Europe." In other words, if we have problems with China or Pakistan, we might use a nuclear bomb to take care of these problems. And we just cannot be trusted whether we will do what we say. If India says that it will not make a nuclear bomb, then there is no guarantee that it will not make it secretly. However, this does not seem to be correct reasoning in international politics. The West used every weapon except the nuclear bomb in the Gulf war. God forbid if Iraq had nuclear bombs, then the West would not hesitate to use its nuclear weapons. After

all, the first bomb was dropped by the West. The Russian Federation, which is being touted so widely, does not have any guarantee of its permanence. No one can say that the economic reforms in the former Soviet Union will bear fruit. If these are not successful, then will the new Soviet Federation flourish there? Even Yeltsin himself has expressed doubts about it.

The fact is that the United States of America and Europe are reducing the number of weapons, instead of totally destroying them, in order to decrease the burden on their economies. Even the United States of America does not believe that they do not need nuclear weapons. Yeltsin is moving ahead rapidly towards a market economy and Europization. Other republics are not ready to go along with him and destroy all the nuclear weapons belonging to the former Soviet Union. He is eager to centralize his weapons and have the right to press the button in his own hands. In such a situation, the U.S. pressure to sign the NPT can only mean that it wants to bring us into its sphere of influence. It wants to act as a judge in our problems with China and Pakistan. It is taking our right to use a defense strategy for our protection. Several years ago the concept for a U.S. nuclear umbrella was developed. According to it, the Asian nations were to live under the U.S. shelter and the United States was to protect them from Soviet and other countries' nuclear attacks. The purpose of the NPT seems to be similar.

Still, we cannot call the U.S. proposed policy totally bad. Lehman said that they have concluded that the world can be rid of nuclear weapons because the Cold war is over. The United States is making some progress in this direction and is reducing its arsenal of nuclear weapons. Those nations, which do not have these destructive weapons or have not acquired them, can easily avoid this problem. We can, and should, give a benefit of doubt to the U.S. intentions. It is not appropriate to look at all policies in black and white only. India has no love for nuclear weapons. Narasimha Rao, our prime minister, said at the United Nations that India is the only nation that has never tried to enslave or destroy a country outside of its borders. The situation is still the same because of its tradition. If the West wants India to cooperate in this effort to disarm the world and sign the NPT, then the United States should help India in resolving the issues in South Asia that might lead to a war. India wants to keep its option for nuclear weapons open just because two of our neighbors are following a policy of confrontation with us. China is a full nuclear power and Pakistan has also acquired nuclear capability secretly. It was learned that China has expressed its desire to sign the NPT. However, it neither changes the fact that China is a nuclear power nor it reduces its danger to India. The only assurance the West got from China was that it will be more careful in the future. However, neither India nor the United States can guarantee what kind of image China will have in the changing world picture? The situation in Tibet has become more precarious. The popular opinion in our country can also change and a political party could come to power that

refuses to recognize Tibet as part of China. Will not this cause a confrontational situation between China and India? At that time, and as members of the NPT, India and China will be very unequal. One will have nuclear weapons, and the other will not.

The same is true about Pakistan. If the United States and other Western nations want to make this subcontinent a nuclear-free zone, then the West should also talk to Pakistan over the Kashmir issue. Kashmir is a religious and emotional issue for Pakistan, but for India it is a guarantee for its unity and secularism. Therefore, the Indian people will never accept Pakistan's claim over Kashmir. The West did not take any practical or objective initiative over the Kashmir since the inception of this issue in 1947. The Western nations complicated this issue for their own interests. The nuclear issue of this subcontinent is connected with this problem. The armament of Pakistan would not have happened if there were no Kashmir issue. Had the Western nations not used Pakistan against the Soviet Union, the Pakistani Government would never have been able to develop nuclear capability secretly. If we want to reverse this trend of nuclear development, the West will have to totally change its policies about the serious confrontation between India and Pakistan!

### Sincerity of China's Peace Initiatives Questioned

#### Border Problems Remain

92AS0632A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 1 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by S. Kumar Basalas: "Does China Really Want a Border Solution"]

[Text] In the two neighboring countries of India and China, the greatest obstacle toward improving relations is the border dispute. Since its independence, India has always had problems with its neighbors over the border issues, and there has been fear of a near-warlike situation. Let us put Pakistan aside; India has also many problems with China. The main problem involving the India-China border is the Ladakh and McMohan lines in the northeast. The confrontation between India and China over the McMohan line began during the 1950's. China occupied a large part belonging to India and following a conniving maneuver China has not thought of changing this policy for the last 4 decades.

China is illegally occupying 12,000 square miles in the western region, 500 square miles in the central region, 5,000 square miles on the Karakoram Pass, and 225,000 square miles in the eastern area. China was willing to accept India's claim in the NEFA [Northeast Frontier Agency] in exchange for India's recognition of China's claim in the Ladakh area. India, however, did not accept this decision, which benefitted China more than it did India. Some talks were also held to end the stalemate, but China attacked India in October 1962 and took over 50,000 square miles in the Arunachal Pradesh region. The problem concerning the Indo-Chinese relations

became more complicated after this attack. The friendly relations changed to bitter enmity.

Tibet is China's sensitive nerve. China has forcibly occupied Tibet, making major military preparations there. It has also built the silk road from Aksai Chin and the Korakoram Pass. The route from the Sinkiang Province to Tibet goes through Aksai Chin, and China is using it to keep an eye on a 50,000-square mile area. The main reason for the war was the McMohan line in the eastern area and Aksai Chin in Ladakh. India wants China to return the Ladakh area that it is currently occupying. China, meanwhile, is stubbornly demanding that India move back from the eastern sector. During the 1962 China-India war, China took over 3,000 square miles of land from India in the west of Aksai Chin, at the source the Sindh River. The fact is that this whole problem is not so complicated that we should not try to work things out. It is important that China give up its selfish goals and try to understand the border lines in order to resolve this issue. China should recognize the natural borders and accept the McMohan line as a border.

In 1977, then-Foreign Minister Atal Bihari Bajpai visited China to discuss the border issue. Before any concrete results could be obtained from these talks, China suddenly attacked Vietnam. China took heavy losses in its war with Vietnam. The China-Vietnam war became a prolonged affair, and India could not make progress in its talks with China over border issues. There were several talks at cabinet level between India and China. In the early 1980's, Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua admitted during his trip to India that both countries should give up their original stands to resolve the issue permanently. A high-level delegation from China visited India with these hopes. However, this delegation refused to recognize the present border lines in the western and eastern sectors. Later in 1983, 1986, and 1987, high-level talks were held; however, during the three phases of these talks, China declared that the Vagdag area of Arunachal was under its domain. As a result, the talks that had taken a giant step forward went into reverse.

During his 1988 trip to China, former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi proposed the establishment of a joint working committee to resolve the border issue. India's foreign secretary and China's deputy foreign minister were also included in this joint working committee. This committee has held talks three times so far, but it is making very slow progress in keeping peace around the border lines and in finding an acceptable solution to the border problems.

The fact is that China's stubborn and biased position has been the major block in the progress of talks over the borders between the two countries. The Chinese-occupied area in the Himalayas is very important from a military perspective. In any war fought around the Indian Ocean, China can undertake important military steps from the Ladakh area against India. China also wants to demonstrate its prowess in the Indian Ocean



and establish competitive military activities in order to maintain a balance of power. The danger of a world war was removed when the cold war between the former Soviet Union and the United States ended along with the arms race. The U. S. attack on Iraq ignited the hidden fire in the Gulf, and it could lead to the danger of a third world war. Afghanistan, Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, and the five Muslim republics that have separated from the former Soviet Union can become united and create a military imbalance in the world.

Pakistan is still working hard on its nuclear program even after the warning by U. S. Senator Pressler. China has already reached nuclear capability. In this new world situation, the China-India friendship becomes a matter of expediency. Both countries should get out of the inconsequential border issues and keep world peace in mind, using their strength and influence to help keep power in balance.

### Dangerous Silence

92AS0632B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 2 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by Lal Krishan Advani: "Chinese Leader's Silence Regarding Occupied Land Is Dangerous"]

[Text] In the aftermath of the visit of Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng, if we analyze which side got what, it will become clear that India got nothing. All it did was give. For example, in the joint communique issued about Tibet during Li Peng's trip, everything that was said was unnecessary. Anything that should have been said about Tibet should have been said by China. It was not up to India. China had India accept its total control over Tibet. The Indian Government, after giving such a major concession to China, neither got China's assurance about Kashmir, nor could it make China say anything about Sikkim and Arunachal. Will China still continue to object to these two states, or does it accept the fact that these two states are in India? We can accept any statement issued in favor of China only if China also clearly indicates its support for Indian interests. An agreement between two nations can be called a respectable agreement only if both nations give and take on an equal basis.

The mention of Tibet in the joint communique was made at the Chinese behest. India did not even mention the violation of human rights and democracy in Tibet, which is deplorable. Similarly, the repression of the Tibetans who were peacefully demonstrating during the arrival of the Chinese prime minister was also unnecessary.

When I met with Mr. Li Peng at the Rashtrapati Bhawan, I clearly told him China should accept the fact that if India is angry at anything, it is about terrorism. Pakistan is supporting terrorism openly. I told him that China should express its feelings about it to Pakistan and stop it from helping the terrorists. Mr. Li Peng said in response, "We are against terrorism; however, when I say that, it is not against any specific country or person.

We want to have good relations with all of our neighbors, including India. But we also want to continue to have good relations with Pakistan."

It was clear that Mr. Li Peng, after telling me about his position on terrorism, did not want this statement to be interpreted in any way against Pakistan.

When I said that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] would want a situation created in Tibet that would return the Dalai Lama and his followers in large numbers and have them spend their lives peacefully there, he did not make any comment.

The indication that Mr. Li Peng gave about Pakistan is important. He decided to remain neutral about Pakistan's efforts in helping terrorism. He also did not guarantee that he would not help Pakistan with its nuclear weapons. This can be interpreted as an acceptance of Pakistani's position concerning India. India was even told to sign the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. The Chinese prime minister hesitated about openly taking a clear stand on any issue. India should have at least said something in the joint communique which would have reflected its concerns, and ceremoniously communicated to China that if we want to recognize its stand on Tibet, then we should also mention the human rights of Tibetans. It is ironic that at a time when we expected India to present the Indian side while extending a friendly hand to China, the Indian Government did not follow the criteria laid out by the Indian people. In doing so, we again showed our weakness in the diplomatic arena at the international level.

China is aware of the changing politics in India. During my talks with Mr. Li Peng, I felt that he understood the situation very well. He mentioned to me two or three times that the BJP is the largest opposition party. Therefore, he wanted us to understand each other well. Mr. Li Peng invited BJP leaders to China and said that we should visit China and try to understand it.

Mr. Li Peng appears to be a very sophisticated person. However, one thing was clear: he is still adamant regarding the old Chinese policy that has been adopted from the very beginning. China has not moved even an inch from its old India policy. He emphasized that China and India were the two largest developing countries in the world, and that both countries should therefore work closely. I felt that Mr. Li Peng was trying to communicate without words that he was not happy with the United States. Perhaps that is why he continued to emphasize during his talk that being developing countries, we both should work together.

In my opinion, any talks or discussions with China should stem from the premise that China should change its stance towards Pakistan. So far as India, this question is more important than the border issue. However, what Mr. Li Peng said is clear, that China is not willing to move from its present stand in any way.

## Developments in Relations With Former USSR

### Political, Other Pacts Agreed

92AS0620A Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA*  
in English 16 Jan 92 p 1

[Text] Moscow, 15 January—India and Russia today finalised a new political treaty and signed memoranda of understanding on trade and supplies of defence and power generation equipment, official sources said today, at the end of the three-day talks between high-level delegations of the two countries, reports PTI.

The political treaty contains elements of the 1971 Indo-Soviet friendship treaty while the memoranda on trade and defence and power equipment supplies have been structured to allow flexibility to meet changes in the economy of the two countries, leader of the Indian delegation, foreign secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, told reporters.

On the rupee-rouble exchange rate, Mr. Dixit said the objective of the discussions was to make an assessment of the new exchange rate on a realistic basis.

Asked whether the trade would continue to be in rupee-rouble terms, he said a new arrangement had been worked out, but declined to go into details.

If the Russian side wishes to go convertible, then India would also have to follow suit, he said, adding that neither was flush with convertible currency.

The ambassador, Mr. Alfred Gonsalves, said a draft political treaty has been received from Ukraine as well. The Indian delegation is leaving for the Ukrainian capital, Kiev, tomorrow for talks with the Ukrainians.

Details of the Indo-Russian political treaty and memoranda are to be made available in Delhi after the delegation reports to the government.

The treaty conforms to the new situation, Mr. Dixit said, declining to give details. Besides some elements to the Indo-Soviet treaty, it also has a reference to the Delhi declaration signed by the late prime minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and the former Soviet president, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr. Dixit said the finalisation of the political treaty was a positive response from India to the Russian president, Mr. Boris Yeltsin's suggestion for such an arrangement.

He said written communications from the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, to Mr. Yeltsin and external affairs minister, Mr. Madhav Singh Solanki, to his Russian counterpart, Mr. Andrei Kozyev, have been conveyed.

### Analyst on Content

92AS0620B Madras *THE HINDU* in English 15 Jan 92  
p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Russia Waters Down 'Indo-Soviet' Treaty"]

[Text] New Delhi, 14 January—India has received a new draft of a treaty from Russia, intended by the new rulers in Moscow to substitute the document that had been the sheet-anchor of Indo-Soviet relations for over 20 years. It is a pale, watered-down version of the original agreement.

The draft, it appears, does not proceed from the premise that New Delhi and Moscow have a special relationship. It does not speak of peace and stability in Asia as the shared objective of the two countries. It does not contain the vital security provision, under which any of the two countries, facing aggression or threat of aggression, could count on the help of the other. The other security-related clauses are missing, too.

What Russia has in mind is the type of the arrangement it has finalised with Germany or Italy. Interestingly, the new document speaks of the market economy and democratic norms, and similar other concepts, normally associated with the Western jargon.

Barely six months ago, the Indo-Soviet treaty, entered into in August 1971, was renewed by the two sides. The low-key statements at the time of its extension contrasted sharply with the enthusiasm and euphoria of the past—a good enough indication that all was not well with the Soviet Union's ties with India. But, none expected the treaty to become irrelevant within months, because none anticipated the disintegration of the Soviet Union or the rapidity with which it crumbled.

For a while, after the emergence of Russia and other republics as independent entities, there was confusion about the status of the treaty. For two reasons—one, the situation in the former Soviet Union continued to be in a state of flux, and, two, the statements emanating from Moscow were vague and ambiguous. New Delhi, however, clung to the hope that the treaty would survive the momentous changes. The hope was partly based on wishful thinking, partly on the misinterpretation of the juridical position. The views of the Russian President, Mr. Boris Yeltsin, were stretched and given the most favourable interpretation though, looking back, both the tone and content of his remarks were qualitatively different from what used to flow from Moscow in the past.

On the juridical side, India took the simplistic view that Russia, as the successor to the Soviet Union, would abide by all the commitments and obligations of the old regime. As it turned out later, the Russian federation was heir to the Soviet Union only in a limited way—to the extent, the other republics regarded it as such. If Russia took the place of the Soviet Union as a permanent member of the U.N. Security Council, it was because

others were agreeable to this arrangement. Similarly, in matters concerning the control of the nuclear arsenal and other strategic weapons. Russia's rights and obligations were circumscribed by the consent of the rest of the Commonwealth of Independent States (C.I.S.). In matters like the Indo-Soviet treaty, Russian, it is now clear, does not regard itself as the successor to the Soviet Union.

The draft is certain to be one of the subjects to be taken up by the team of top Indian officials, led by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, now in Moscow for talks with their counterparts in the Russian Federation. Whether India suggests any changes and if so, whether the Russian authorities will be in a receptive mood is not clear yet. It is a far cry from the setting, say, in the middle of 1990 when the then Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh, visited Moscow for talks with the Soviet President of the day, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev. The extension of the treaty was considered a foregone conclusion and there were hints of Mr. Gorbachev's plans to visit Delhi around 4 August 1991, the beginning of the extended term.

**Security clauses:** The security clauses were a vital part of the 1971 document. Article VIII dealt with one important aspect—"in accordance with the traditional friendship established between the two countries, each of the High Contracting Parties solemnly declares that it shall not enter into or participate in any military alliance directed against the other party. Each High Contracting Party undertakes to abstain from any aggression against the other Party and to prevent the use of its territory for the commission of any act which might inflict military damage on the other High Contracting Party."

Article IX hit the headlines in the West then. It said "Each High Contracting Party undertakes to abstain from providing any assistance to any third party that engages in armed conflict with the other Party. In the event of either Party being subjected to an attack or a threat thereof, the High Contracting Parties shall immediately enter into mutual consultations in order to remove such threat and to take appropriate effective measures to ensure peace and the security of their countries."

Under Art. X, "Each High Contracting Party solemnly declares that it shall not enter into any obligation, secret or public, with one or more States; which is incompatible with his Treaty. Each High Contracting Party further declares that no obligation exists, nor shall any obligation be entered into, between itself and any other State or States, which might cause military damage to the other Party."

#### **Correspondent on Mission 'Failure'**

92AS0620C New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Jan 92  
p 1

[Article by Rajiv Shah: "Dixit's Mission to Moscow Fails"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Moscow, 15 January—The Interdisciplinary Group of the Government of India led by Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit has failed to get anything beyond assurances from the Russian officials on all the outstanding issues—be it the question of rupee-rouble exchange rate, supply of defence equipment of such delicate problems as the Russian approach to the Kashmir issue and the nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.

Mr. Dixit told newsmen in a philosophical vein after the talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Yurpt G. Kunadze, Deputy Premier and Minister-in-charge of the Russian economy Yegor Gaidar and other top Russian officials that the main aim of his visit was to 'find ways to manage the current transitional phase' in which India's relations with this part of the world are in a state of political confusion."

The Indian officials could not even meet Foreign Minister Andres Kozyrev despite their best efforts. It seems that current policymakers of Russia, Kalingrad,—a Russian Baltic sea outpost,—Estonia and Germany are more important than India.

Cancelling his meeting with the Indian team, Mr. Kozyrev flew to the three places on Yeltsin's demand. But as he left Moscow, things became clearer. An angry Ruslan Khasbulatov, Russian Parliament Chairman and one of the most influential persons in the current power structure, declared, for the last one year Kozyrev or his team has failed to work out even a foreign policy statement for Russia. "It's an incompetent government which Yeltsin is heading," he declared as he began talks with former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. "It must go. Kozyrev must be replaced by Russian Ambassador to the United Nations Yuli Vorontsov."

A senior Indian diplomat remarked in confidence, "It will be good if this change takes place. This is what we need.

Mr. Kozyrev is considered by the former Soviet Foreign Ministry apparatus a man who still does not know what priorities the Russian leadership should attach in foreign policy. With Russia becoming the successor of the Soviet Union, we do not know our priorities in foreign affairs. Nor do we know our boundaries," points out a Russian expert in an article in PRAVDA.

Indeed, the Indian team's visit could not achieve anything more than a probe into what is happening in Russia. It does not know, as was the case with Foreign Minister Madhavsinh Solanki when he came to Moscow a couple of months back, whether the people he met will remain in power at all. Even Economic Minister Gaidar, the brain behind the new economic reforms, may not retain the post he holds now. Yeltsin has said he will 'defend his cabinet' but what will happen in case the Russian Parliament puts enough pressure on him to change the situation?



Thus, while it was agreed that trade in Indian rupees should be continued, though in a new framework, none knows what this 'new framework could be.'

Though Foreign Secretary Mr. Dixit quoted by a Russian official as saying "we are conscious of mutual needs," senior diplomats wondered in private how can one be sure of that when even the most elementary issues have not been settled. A Russian expert pointed out, what is lacking in the Russian side is the "political will" to take relations with India seriously. "There is a lack of certainty," the top Indologist added, "unless this is got over, nothing would change."

Even Mr. Yeltsin's visit, the invitation of which was renewed in a letter that Mr. Dixit handed over on behalf of the prime minister to be given to Yeltsin, continues to hang in fire. Asked when the visit could take place, an uncertain Dixit replied, "I cannot say that it will take place, day after tomorrow." Mr. Dixit said that an Indo-Russian political treaty is being finalised, to be signed by Yeltsin in a forthcoming visit, but failed to confirm whether it was in letter and spirit the same as the 1971 Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation.

"It cannot be that," he said. "It would be foolish to expect there are no changes in Russian foreign policy." There is a mere mention of the 1971 treaty and the 1986 Delhi declaration. "But nothing is final. I cannot reveal contents," he told newsmen.

#### Past Treaty's 'Virtual Demise'

92AS0620D Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English  
16 Jan 92 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 15 January—One of the consequences of the disintegration of the Soviet Union has been the virtual demise of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Peace signed with much fanfare in 1971.

Russia, which has donned the mantle of the successor State, has made new proposals which are out of tune with India's expectations. The "time-tested friendship with the Soviet Union" is missing. The security clauses, which provide that one of the countries would come to the aid of the other in case of an attack, that neither country would support any third party which was engaged in armed conflict with the other and that none of the two countries would enter into any arrangement with a third party which would jeopardize the military aspect of the other country, are all missing.

The original treaty was for a period of 20 years and it was renewed last year during the tenure of the former President, Mr. Gorbachev. Even at that time the then Soviet Union did not display much enthusiasm. But India hardly expected the subsequent developments to take such a turn that the treaty would be rendered practically void. The new proposals sent by Russia has obviously come as a shock to India. It remains to be seen how much of the lost ground is covered by the senior Indian team of

officials headed by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit, which is currently in Moscow.

It is obvious that India was led to believe that Russia would automatically subscribe to the earlier Soviet treaty when Mr. Boris Yeltsin made a statement to the effect that Russia would honour all international obligations of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Indian disclaimers notwithstanding, India's hasty statement on the short-lived coup in the Soviet Union, which lent support to those who had wanted to oust Mr. Gorbachov, Mr. Yeltsin and the lot, had, it would seem, taken its toll in terms of Russia's attitude towards India.

While the absence of any mention of the phrase "special relationship," which used to characterize all earlier pronouncements on Indo-Soviet relations, in the Russian draft, is a blow for India the scratching out of the security clauses from the draft was only to be expected in the changed world scenario, with the Soviet union split into various republics and the USA becoming the sole super-power.

What should cause some worry to the policymakers here is that in the new circumstances, the support from Russia, which has laid claim to a seat in the Security Council at the United Nations as a successor to the Soviet Union, on the Kashmir issue can no longer be taken for granted. There is, however, some consolation in the fact that the USA and U.K. are still talking of solving the Kashmir issue bilaterally in terms of the Shimla agreement though now and again voices from influential sections in both countries are heard speaking in favour of mediation by third parties.

#### Relations With Ukraine

92AS0620E New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Jan 92  
p 1

[Text] Moscow, 17 January (PTI)—India and Ukraine today signed an agreement to establish diplomatic relations and finalised the draft of a political treaty.

The agreements came at the end of wide-ranging discussions between a high-level Indian team led by Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit and Ukrainian ministers and officials in Kiev.

The agreement on diplomatic relations was signed by Mr. Dixit and Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko, according to a spokesman of the Indian embassy here.

The political treaty is to be signed by Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk who is likely to visit India this summer.

#### Trade With Uzbekistan

92AS0620F Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 29 Jan 92 p 17

[Text] New Delhi, 28 January—India has concluded a trade protocol with Uzbekistan for 1992 which envisages

a balanced trade turnover of about \$75 million. The protocol is in pursuance of the trade agreement signed by the two countries in October last year in Tashkent.

According to the protocol, the items India will buy from Uzbekistan include long and extra long staple cotton, urea, copper wire bars and liquid ammonia. In return India will export tea, cardamom and other spices, cashew, medicines, tooth paste, metal kitchenware, pesticides, artificial leather, cotton fabrics and other consumer items.

Steps to establish formal correspondent relations between State Bank of India and Uzbek Bank have been initiated. Banking arrangements to facilitate bilateral trade have also been put in place with the establishment of an account for Uzbek state committee for foreign trade with State Bank of India.

### Team in Central Asian Republics

92AS0620G Madras *THE HINDU* in English 29 Jan 92 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Indian Team Touring Central Asian Republics"]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 Jan—A non-official delegation, headed by a former Union Minister, Mr. R. N. Mirdha, is now on a visit to the Central Asian Republics of the former Soviet Union.

Other members of the team include Mr. S.K. Singh, former Foreign Secretary, Prof. Rashid-ud-din and Prof. Javid Ashraj, both of the JNU [Jawaharlal Nehru University], and Mr. M.J. Akbar, former MP.

The team left for Tashkent, capital of Uzbekistan, two days ago on the first leg of the tour. It will visit Kazakhstan and will be back after a week.

This is the second significant contract after the emergence of the republics as independent identities, the first being the visit by Ms. Aditi Ghosh, Joint Secretary, External Affairs Ministry. The Mirdha team will establish contacts with the top personalities in various fields set for important roles in the new dispensation. The Union Government has already recognised all the 12 republics, now part of a loose, amorphous grouping called the Commonwealth of Independent States, and announced its plans to set up four new embassies—in Kiev (Ukraine) Alma Ata (Kazakhstan), Minsk (Belarus) and Tashkent. In the last case, the consulate is being upgraded to the status of a full-fledged mission.

At the time of the recognition last month, the prime minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, wrote to the heads of all the republics, affirming India's resolve to strengthen the ties with each one of them.

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, its treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation with India became redundant in its place, two major republics—Russia and Ukraine—have decided to provide a new framework of

political relationship in the form of fresh treaties (which, in keeping with the changed context, do not contain the security clauses). There is, as yet, no formalised arrangement with the other republics, though contacts with them had been maintained at various levels.

New Delhi's concerns and interest are varied. It is keen on strengthening the trade, economic and cultural ties thus giving a new content to political relationship. At least one of the Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan, has a share of the nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union. Its future policies are, therefore, of great relevance to India.

### More on Treaty, Yeltsin Visit Plans

92AS0620H Madras *INDIAN EXPRESS* in English 21 Jan 92 p 9

[Text] New Delhi—Russian President Bori Yeltsin will visit New Delhi in late March or early April to sign the new Indo-Russian treaty of friendship and cooperation. The draft of the treaty was discussed with senior Russian officials by a high-level Indian delegation led by Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit, which returned here on Sunday.

Informed sources said on Monday that while the draft omitted certain specific references to security, contained in the 1971 Indo-Soviet treaty, it provided for regular consultations between the two countries on matters connected with peace and security.

The draft also made it clear that in the event of any development that threatened peace and each other's security, the two countries would hold consultations and coordinate action to eliminate the threat and reestablish peace, the sources said.

The two sides agreed to a two-year period of transmission to overcome the problem but indications are that the bilateral trade will be conducted in convertible currency after Russia becomes a member of the IMF before the end of this year.

Under agreed principles of bilateral trade signed in Moscow by the delegation, the value of Russian goods will be calculated on the basis of rupee-dollar rate. The invoicing will be in dollars but the payment will be in rupee during the period of transition.

The sources stressed that India would have to work out a flexible trade arrangement with Russia.

The sources said that no Russian power project in India was being cancelled.

The sources said that Russia had assured India that a minimum flow of defence spares would be maintained.

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

### Explosion of Illegal Immigration From Bangladesh Viewed

#### Government Ignorant of Facts

92AS0633A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 9 Feb 92 p 6

[Editorial: "The Bangladesh Infiltrator Problem"]

[Text] It is not an unknown fact that Kishanganj in Bihar is the "gateway" for illegal immigration from Bangladesh. The Bangladesh border is only 15 km from this district's center. Transport buses can be easily accessed from here, and people can cross the border without any obstacles. There is no difference in language, dress, or customs among these people. Therefore, one just cannot estimate how many people came and went from either side. According to a local resident's estimate, there are hundreds of thousands of illegal Bangladeshis living in West Bengal and Bihar's various areas. That is why Purnia, Katihar, Sahevganj, Bhagalpur, Araria, and eleven other districts in Bihar are filled with illegal immigrants. The problem is that neither the state government nor any political party has ever thought it necessary to investigate the presence of these infiltrators. This is an extremely deplorable situation that should be looked into, but nobody is willing to take the initiative.

The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] had threatened to start a campaign to expel these foreign nationals. However, no plan has been implemented. Some BJP members who are Bhatia Muslims call themselves citizens of West Bengal and as proof have registered as voters. The political leaders are the most responsible for having these illegal immigrants there. The way some leaders established their supremacy in Assam by inviting foreigners is being emulated by some leaders in Bihar and West Bengal. These Bangladeshi citizens who have entered India illegally have spread all over the country, especially in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, and other cities looking for employment. A man killed in a riot in Varanasi was found out to be a Bangladeshi. With regard to the lists of voters, there were some objections last year and it was demanded that the names of many people be removed from the lists. Because of political contacts and pressure it is difficult to say how successful this effort was. In this context, the role played by the government of West Bengal is no less deplorable. After studying this problem, one must conclude that until the central government takes an initiative, there will be no major changes. The central government is totally ignorant of this situation. The local police does not take much interest in this affair, nor have the cases registered in this context have been followed up.

We have always ignored the warfare strategy hidden in the demand for Pakistan in two areas. There could be a situation where we have to fight wars on two different platforms. India should not become complacent because of the birth of Bangladesh. The restlessness prevalent in

the northeastern states and the activities of the terrorists should open our eyes. This is a conspiracy to break up our country. These foreigners spread all over India could start a rebellion at any time. The central government trusted the Jammu-Kashmir government and created an environment that helped Pakistani nationals to spread all over India and create problems. Now the situation is so bad that it is difficult to raise the national flag in Sri Nagar. In Uttar Pradesh, 21 districts are involved in such problems. The same situation will emerge in Assam, West Bengal, Tripura, and Bihar. The central government is not aware of this danger. The gateway to India, Kishanganj, will require very strict guarding. All political parties should ignore their petty political greed and do their duty by identifying foreign nationals and helping to expel them. The politics of votes corrupts parties to an extent. One example of this corruption is exemplified in these border states.

#### Bangladeshi Government Scheme

92AS0633B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 12 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by Jagdish Vibhakar: "The Bangladeshi Scheme Behind the Infiltration"]

[Text] The illegal immigration of Bangladeshi citizens into West Bengal and the rest of the country has created a very dangerous situation. The Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] has called it a "silent attack." The top officials of the Border Security Force call this problem Bangladesh's natural expansion "to find a place to live." It is feared that if this situation continues, West Bengal will become another Punjab or Kashmir during the next decade.

According to various estimates, the number of illegal immigrants in West Bengal is between 6 and 8 million. Over half a million people with legal visas that are remaining in India should also be included in these numbers. The governments of both countries have taken some concrete action in this context; however, such illegal immigration cannot be stopped. The majority of these illegal immigrants are Muslims. Last year, the border security force apprehended 45,000 illegal immigrants. Of these, 41,000 were Muslims. The corresponding figures for 1990 were 21,000 and 12,000, respectively.

The Border Security Force and the police both admit that innumerable Bangladeshis cross the 2,223-km India-Bangladesh illegally. The effect of this is not only being felt in border districts, but in the whole state. Bangladeshi Muslims have reached as far as Delhi, Bombay, and Jaipur. According to the 1991 census, the population of West Bengal's border district showed a great deal more growth than the national average of 23.17 percent. The increase was 30 percent in West Dinajpur, 31 percent in Northern Chaubis Pargana, 24 percent in Southern Chaubis Pargana, 28 percent in Murshidabad, and 29 percent in Malda.

The BJP has accused Bangladesh of conspiracy based on these statistics. Expressing agreement or disagreement with this is a separate issue. However, one thing is clear: During the last five years, especially after 1988, the number of illegal immigrants has increased in an unprecedented manner. After Bangladesh was declared an Islamic republic, the transfer of Hindus to India could be understood to an extent. However, Muslim Bangladeshis from Khulna, Jaisor, Chatagoan, Noakhali, and other districts are moving to India because of economic problems. They do not hesitate to cite natural catastrophes to make their cases strong.

According to our sources, even Bangladeshi intellectuals have started to say that they were forced to open the exit gates of their country because of the unprecedented increase in population. They argue that in their 45,000 square mile country, the population will reach 160 million by the end of the century. This clarifies Bangladesh's concept of a "livable place." Thus, the Bangladesh Government is openly encouraging those who are illegally emigrating to India.

The government of Bangladesh is not ready to admit officially that its citizens are illegally living in any other country. However, they do concede that some Chakma people have moved to India. They still do not accept that these Chakma people have moved because of religious and political oppression. Instead, they claim that looting by Shanti Vahini and other "enciting powers" (i.e., India), have encouraged the Chakma people to take refuge in India.

In addition, Bangladeshi intellectuals have started a comic repetition of the term "historic justice." They say that when the Indian subcontinent was divided, the northeastern part of present Bangladesh was fraudulently taken over by India. Bangladesh considers this region its natural expansion now. We should be grateful they are not expressing anger or expectation about "a minor Bengal."

Even though such opinions are not expressed publicly and formally, the government still does not deny its passive endorsement. For example, the 6-12 September 1991 issue of the Dhaka COURIER WEEKLY, published details of 150,000 Bangladeshis with names and pictures who are now living in Delhi. Another Dhaka weekly, HOLIDAY (18 October 1991), had an article about Sadiq Khan, a member of a prominent Bangladeshi political family. In the article he made it clear when he said, "This is not the proper time to bring up the issue of Bangladesh being a livable place for people." Sadiq Khan did not stop here. He demanded new international organizations and a new world population administration system. Before him, this was also demanded by Dhaka University Professor Shayedujaman during a seminar.

Sadiq Khan also raised another interesting issue. He said, "The natural pressure of the population in Bangladesh is increasing, and it cannot be stopped by barbed

wire or border patrols. The natural expansion of the population in Bangladesh would be toward the sparsely populated region of Arakan in the southeast and the northeast of Sapt Bhagini, in the Indian subcontinent." Will Bangladesh, like Pakistan, make a claim on the northeastern region?

An analysis of this situation makes it clear that the illegal Muslim immigrants and terrorists coming from Bangladesh will one day demand a special region for themselves. This will cause a dangerous situation in the northeastern part of India and in West Bengal. One can argue that these people comprise a very small number, but who can stop them from increasing their numbers? Arab countries are already secretly sending large amounts of money to Muslims in India to help in increasing their population and to assist with their living expenses. The problem of the three-acre land program and the stalemate by the BJP over this system—a situation created by the Muslims that have illegally entered Bangladesh and then India, increasing existing problems between the two countries at the international level—will further block any other burning issues and will sow the seeds of enmity between the two neighboring countries. As a result, keeping a peaceful environment in the subcontinent, especially in India, will become very difficult. Bangladesh is taking advantage of religious, cultural, and language commonalities and is sowing seeds of terrorism by unofficially sending its citizens to India. India, especially West Bengal, must be ready to taste the poisonous fruits from the trees sprouting from these seeds.

## INTERNAL AFFAIRS

**Punjab: Beant Singh Faces 'Stupendous' Problems**  
92AS0727C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
8 Mar 92 p 8

[Article by B. K. Chum in Chandigarh]

[Text] Although the Congress(I) has regained power in Punjab by securing a three-fourths majority in the 117-member State Assembly, its numerical strength cannot guarantee that it will last its full five-year term.

The new ministry faces stupendous tasks. Though politically experienced, but slow-to-react and not too bright, the 70-year-old Beant Singh will not find it easy to overcome the problems faced by his 27-member ministry. The biggest handicap his ministry suffers is the stigma that it is not a truly representative government. The Congress(I) scored less than 14 lakh votes representing just over 10 per cent of the state's total electorate of about 1.31 crore. Of the 28 lakh votes polled, the ruling party's share was around 44 per cent.

What is politically significant is that the party secured the record number of seats since Independence on the basis of the overwhelming support extended to it by the urban Hindus, the minority community constituting less



than 40 per cent of the state's population. Not that the Sikhs did not vote. But only a microscopic minority voted, partly for the Congress(I) and partly in favour of the Akali Dal (Kabul) and the Bahujan Samaj Party. The fact that the latter emerged as the second-largest group in the Assembly by securing nine seats shows that the BSP [Bahujan Samaj Party] continues to retain its base among the Dalits after a substantial number of them shifted their traditional loyalty from the Congress(I) to Mr. Kanshi Ram's party in the 1985 State Assembly elections. The party also secured one Lok Sabha seat with the remaining 12 seats going to the Congress(I).

Apart from the implications of the voting arithmetic, about which the ruling party leadership is conscious, the very size and composition of the Congress(I) Legislature Party and its chronic factionalism are going to add to the ministry's problems. This was obvious from the pressures the Chief Minister had to succumb to even before the formation of the ministry.

Obviously, Mr. Beant Singh, under pressure from some central leaders, had to take in their near relatives and camp-followers. Among them is Mr. Buta Singh's nephew. Pressures continue from certain central leaders and further expansion of the ministry cannot be ruled out.

Mr. Beant Singh has announced the restoration of peace and amity as the foremost task of his government. This factor will decide the fate of his ministry in the coming months. No doubt, the elections have restored the democratic set-up—howsoever poorly representative—in Punjab but the test of the set-up will be its ability and success in reaching the common man. The enormity of the task can be gauged from the fact that an overwhelming majority of the Sikhs, particularly in the rural areas, boycotted the elections mainly because of the fear of the gun and partly due to the boycott call given by the six Panthic organisations.

The biggest problem before the ministry is how it will bring back the alienated Sikh community into the mainstream. As the situation stands, the Beant Singh ministry seems to lack the ability to accomplish this task, especially because the Congress(I)'s credibility is lowest among the Sikh peasantry, which by and large supports the mainline Akali Dals.

The situation is going to worsen when the senior Akali leaders of the factions which boycotted the elections are released from detention. The ruling party leadership is conscious of the fact that after their release, they will make efforts to destabilise the government. Added to this will be the expected escalation of militancy.

It is in this context that some advisers have suggested that the government embark upon a three-pronged strategy to deal with the Punjab problem. The most important part of the strategy is to launch an aggressive onslaught against the militants. The suggestion comes in view of pressures from other states and the obvious fact that all the 800 companies of paramilitary forces cannot

be retained in Punjab for long. In fact, withdrawal of some of the companies is expected to begin at any time.

Besides, the army will also have to be withdrawn after three months, as indicated officially. If an onslaught is not launched against the militants now, it will provide them sufficient time to regroup and intensify their operations.

The second suggestion made by the advisers is to galvanise the district administration, reconstitute the grievance removing bodies and undertake development works in the rural areas. This will provide some relief to the people who have suffered under the corrupt bureaucratic set-up for nearly five years. It will also provide an opportunity for the ruling party leaders to establish contacts with the rural people. The third point of the strategy is to devise ways to meet the challenge of the Akalis who are expected to launch an agitation after their top leaders are released from jail.

How the ruling party will be able to do it will depend on a number of factors. One of the main tasks will be to find a solution to Punjab's political problems which are intertwined with its disputes on territory and river waters with Haryana and other neighbouring states. Even if a solution is found, of which there does not seem to be any immediate possibility because of the complexities of the problems, the problem of militant violence is not going to be solved.

The Pakistan-backed militant secessionists are not interested in the transfer of Chandigarh or in a solution to the river waters dispute. Their demand is Khalistan. No government in Delhi, irrespective of its political hue, is going to accede to this secessionist demand. It is therefore certain that only the changed geo-political situation or a prolonged confrontation between the Indian state and the secessionists will finally decide the fate of militancy in Punjab.

In this background, the Congress(I) government at the Centre may have to do backseat driving in Punjab in case it wants to derive even limited results from the return of the party to power in the state after over eight years. For this, it may have to keep its options open. These options cannot exclude holding of talks with the nationalist militants and Akalis, which can help defuse the situation to some extent.

### **Investigative Reporters Explore Pulse of Punjab**

92AS0636A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 6 Feb 92  
p 5

[Article by Ajay Shrivastav and Mukesh Bhardwaj:  
"Dividing the Mind of Punjab"]

[Text] In the border region of Punjab, the green fields and far-flung villages are still flourishing. The yellow sheets of mustard flowers are spread far and wide. As usual, one can see farmers working in the fields and women making cow dung cakes around their homes.

However, if we go closer and try to read their faces, then one thing will be clear: the dark shadow of terrorism has ruined their peace and sleep.

They have not yet forgotten the cancellation of elections just before they were scheduled to be held last June. They were ready to vote with their heart and soul at that time. The killing was prevalent even then, and many candidates were killed; however, the people believed that their blood and votes would bear fruit and a new government would be formed. But the Congress Party's announcement to boycott the election, followed by its cancellation, shook the people's faith very badly. They no longer have any faith or trust that the government will hold elections on 19 February. Meanwhile, many Akali groups have decided to boycott the elections. That is why the villagers cannot ignore the threats of khadkus [terrorists] and build up enough courage to vote. Most of the villagers do not want to pay attention to the Sikh leaders and khadku groups who are telling them to boycott the election; however, the question of who will guarantee their protection when they go to vote remains. That is why there has been no political action in the villages.

Baba Bakala in the Amritsar district is the native village of Jathedar Jiwan Singh Umrangal, leader of the newly formed Shiromani Jagat Akali Dal. It is considered very dangerous. When we asked Najar Singh, who was going somewhere on his bicycle, if there was any political activity in the village, he looked around cautiously and replied quietly, "Sir, how can there be any political activity in such an atmosphere? We heard there will be an election, but the khadkus are against elections. How can we go to vote? Terrorism is everywhere."

Several youths gathered around Najar Singh. The old man who was talking suddenly got scared and changed the subject. When we questioned the 20- or 21-year-old Sarabjit Singh about the elections, one of his companions pointed at Najar Singh and said, "This old man has eaten and lived enough; let him reply. Otherwise, tomorrow morning, your name will be published in the newspaper, and the 4:00 p.m. dinner will follow your death."

The suspicions and fears about the elections are prevalent not only among the people, but also among military personnel. Baldev Singh, a 20-year-old recruit, has returned to Baba Bakala on vacation. He said, "If a lot of people go to vote, then I will also. Otherwise, I will not."

Kundan Singh, member of Baba Bakala's Panchayat, claims that votes will be cast in large numbers in the villages. He says, "The whole villages supports Jathedar Umrangal. Whatever fear exists will disappear with time."

In Daula Nangal, a village near Baba Bakala, many military vehicles are [moving around]. The children of the village are laughing and playing with the soldiers. Fifty-year-old Ajayab Singh said, "There will be no elections. The government had betrayed us last year, too."

All shops in the village of Chowk Mehta are usually closed, because this village made headlines because of Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale and Damdami Taksal. Even when a common khadku is killed, they hold a wake. Seventy-one-year-old Udham Singh made a statement that can testify to the tension and terrorism in the village. He said, "It does not matter how many questions you ask. No one will give you an honest answer. Who loves death? This is an area where men and women are killed like insects."

Grocer Pragat Singh (23 years old) said, "There is no hope for the elections. Regardless, I am not going to vote." There is no mention of elections in this region.

When we proceeded from Chowk Mehta, we were stopped for an identification check at Umarpura (Batala). In Chakri Badar Mohalla in Batala, Suraj Devi, an old woman, said in a trembling voice, "The era of voting is gone. The rifles and bombs do not listen to anybody." However, some other people said that in spite of this fear, many people will vote in Batala.

Between Batala and Kadian is the largest village, Vadala Garanthian. There was no political action anywhere. One shopkeeper, Shiv Singh (78 years old), told us, "Last year, politicians like Jagjit Singh Dhillon and Natha Singh Dalam were candidates from here; however, the situation has deteriorated a lot. On whose assurance will the people go to vote?"

National Guard soldiers are posted everywhere in the city of Gurdaspur. There is no military in the city, and there is usually no tension visible. However, because of the situation in the whole district, both groups are scared. Mrs. Radha Joshi, a social worker, blames the present situation on the politicians sitting in New Delhi. She said, "It was a mistake to cancel the election last year at the last minute. At that time, people were ready to vote. Now they do not have any hope that the election will be held on 19 February." Mrs. Joshi said that there is no zeal for the elections in the city as there was in the past: "The political parties are just waiting to see which way the wind will blow. That is why no posters or election slogans are visible on the walls." However, she strongly believes that political action should be reinstated in Punjab, and that elections were necessary for this. In the opinion of Rajesh Sharma, a young owner of an electronics store near Gita Bhawan in Gurdaspur, "The election must be held soon." He said that people would come to vote because they have no other option left.

Pathankot is the city of Gurdaspur district where terrorism tried to dig its poisonous teeth but failed to shake the people's faith. Both groups are still close to one another. The late Gokul Das had converted his sons to Sikhism. One of his sons, Kishan Singh, said, "It does not matter whether there are elections or not. The government does not keep its promises. What was the

result of the Rajiv-Langowal agreement? Everybody asks this. It is no wonder that people show no interest in voting."

In the village of Jaura, 26 km from Dara Baba Nanak, an illiterate greengrocer, Sardari Lal (40 years old), said something very important. "All that is left to the Punjab is the right to vote. Why should we be afraid of bullets? Here, a lot of people die daily, and a greengrocer can join the number." When asked if the present problem will be solved by the elections, he replied, "I am totally illiterate; however, I know that elections are not the answer to Punjab's problem. Floods eat up a field. If a thread breaks in the loom, then one can make do by knotting the thread. Now the situation is like all the threads being broken." Fourteen-year-old Inder Jit, who was standing nearby, denied comment: "The boys around here will take you away if your name is printed in the newspaper."

Mulak Raj, a 25-year-old youth from Mohalla Mulak Raj in Dara Baba Nanak, has returned to the mainstream after being active in a terrorist organization for seven years. He said, "If the Akalis continue to boycott, then there will be no elections. The people do not have faith worth even one paise in the government."

Mr. Jaswant Singh Rahi (76 years old) is a well-known soldier of the independence struggle and an award-winning Punjabi writer. He has a lot of influence in this area. He was a Communist Party member in the past. He joined the Congress Party after the Communist Party broke into two factions. He spoke openly against terrorism, saying, "Whatever happens, the election must be held. The talks and actions of the terrorists are against the teachings and ideals of the Sikhs. The people do not support them. In this situation, if the people begin to believe that the election will be held as scheduled and that they will be given protection, then a large number of people in the villages will go to vote. However, the people are gradually losing faith."

On our way to Ramdas from Dara Baba Nanak, we passed many patrolling Army vehicles. In Chowra Gaon (Gurdaspur), Satnam Singh said, "Only the cowards are scared of threats. Vote, I must." There was no joy in Gujarpur, a village in Ajnala county in the Amritsar district. The people there do not believe that there will be an election. He continued, "Last year in June, the election was canceled a few hours before voting was to start. Now who is going to believe that there will be an election?"

Even Amritsar, the political center of Punjab, is totally untouched by the election atmosphere. We did not see any political action there. There were no flags or banners visible, nor were any offices of political parties open. There is some talk of an election among the officials; however, these lack zeal. On some walls, some posters and handwriting from last June's election propaganda are still visible.

The people living around the Golden Temple did not demonstrate any eagerness about the election. People hesitate to talk openly. One shopkeeper, Didar Singh, said, "If the Akalis boycott the election, then the Sikhs will not vote." However, another Sikh shopkeeper said, "The Akalis are hungry for positions. It is good that they are not participating in the election. If they succeeded in forming a government, it would not last more than four days. They would all die fighting among themselves in that time."

In the whole border area, we did not see any election poster or open election offices. Only in Bholath county of Kapurthala was there a Bahujan Samaj party election office open.

Punam, a second-year BA student, made an interesting comment. She said, "The girl students are not interested in the elections. They are worried about fashion and movies." She added that "they are fully engrossed in Ilu-Ilu."

The Sultan Vind area of Amritsar is called "Mand" [snakes roost] and is still considered very "hot." We learned something new from the people here, who said that the village surrounding the city also had a curfew, and that there was no room for political action.

The border village, Ajnala, is also far removed from the election atmosphere, just as Amritsar city is. An old Sikh, Ishar Singh, and his brother Kishan Chand, represent two different factions in the eyes of the people there. However, both of them think more or less the same. Both said, "The wounds of Operation Blue Star and the November 1984 riots are still fresh. The khadkus are killing innocent people. Hatred is taking root in this environment. The election has the bloody shadow of terrorism and hatred."

In the Tarantaran area, which is called the home of the khadkus, terrorism was most evident. People disappeared into their homes when the evening fell. Dilbagh Singh, a 38-year-old landlord, said frankly, "Votes can be cast in cities, not in villages." He also said, "Khalistan will not be an election issue, because there is only one wrestler in this bout, and the other is opposing outside the arena." He said frankly, "The Center has a dead snake around its neck. The government wants to throw that snake away through the election."

In Narangabad, a village in Tarantaran, there were more military activities than election activities. The army patrols it regularly and there is no mention of elections anywhere.

How many people in Mand, the most dangerous region in Punjab, will have the courage to vote? Only time will tell; however, in the historic village of Goendwal in this region, we observed a mixed reaction. A 20-year-old young man, Baj Singh, came to the Goendwal Gurudwara with his family, riding in a car called Maruta (the name given to it by the local people). He said, "I am busy with my work. I do not care for politics. If more people

are willing to vote, then I will also do so. Otherwise, no." His friend Bali Singh (22 years old) said, "There should be no elections. Our religion is in danger. The danger against Sikhs will increase because of these elections."

However, Gurudev Singh (23 years old), stood in front of the Gurudwara, arranged his moustache, and said proudly, "I am also a Sikh. Everyone has to die one day. Therefore, why should I be afraid of voting?"

On crossing the bridge over the river Beas, one reaches the Kapurthala district from Mand. The security forces were carefully surveying the tall grasses in the marshes of Mand. There are no election talks in this area, and there did not appear to be any possibility of them at all.

The government is considered dishonest because of its attitude towards Punjab or over the establishment of a presidential rule there. This belief is found equally among the educated and the illiterate people there.

According to Dr. Gurmit Singh Gill of Samrala, "How can one trust the Center, which never gave Chandigarh to Punjab, even after announcing that it would?" Dr. Gill further said, "I will not cast my vote during the elections. This is my personal decision. While I have the wound of Operation Blue Star in my heart, I also have the pain caused by the government not keeping its promises. It did not punish the terrorists in 1984, even after promising to do so, and it did not find a solution to the river water issue. Instead, it has created new problems." He assumed that a very small portion of people would cast their votes in the election.

However, there is another group in Samrala. Storekeeper Girilal said, "All this is a blatant lie. The decision to boycott the election is childish. Who are the khadku groups that said all violence would stop if Chandigarh is given to Punjab? They (khadkus) never had any meeting or discussion about the things they want. Why are they talking about it? Elections should be held so that people can elect their representatives and go complain to them. So far, nobody has ever heard anything from us." He believed that people who make announcements about boycotting elections are doing so out of fear of death.

The fear of the khadkus in Hoshiarpur and the Ropar district is not felt much. It is expected that a large number of people will cast votes in rural and urban areas. The situation is not so bad in villages, either. The feeling of fear is more visible in the villages. The feeling of terror is more visible in the Ludhiana and Patiala districts. Ludhiana has seen more terrorism in recent years. There have been several major incidents of mass murders, train massacres, and bomb blasts. The Khalistan Liberation Force and Babber Khalsa have staged several episodes here and have established their influence and fear.

A veteran police officer said, "How can we guarantee the security of the people when we cannot even trust our own people in the department? The morale is low, and these incidents happen with their approval. Our image has

been tarnished in villages, and people believe that we are the ones in black shorts [militant Sikhs]. In addition, the khadkus used police uniforms during some incidents in this district. Therefore, the people have lost faith in the police."

In the Patiala villages of Chatter, Gardi Nagar, Surajgarh, and Vanudh, the people said they had never been visited by the khadkus, but that the policemen had acted like those who wear black shorts. The people in these villages are more positive about the elections, because the fear of the khadkus is not as prevalent here. The people do not show much enthusiasm for an election boycott; however, they agree on one thing: If the khadku groups boycott the election, then they will not vote. The khadkus have not made any announcements or issued any threats in the villages of this district. However, the people expect that a directive will be issued. The announcement made by the Panthak committee (Manochahal group) has encouraged participation in the election. Before it, another group had appealed for a total strike on the 19th.

The Panthak committee (Manochahal) had endorsed candidates during the June elections. At that time, however, the Panthak committee (Sohan Singh) had raised the slogan of boycotting the elections in Ludhiana, Patiala, and Ropar and received full support. At the time, there were posters promoting an election boycott everywhere. At that time, Babber Khalsa had joined the Panthak committee (Sohan Singh). However, they had separated because of mutual disagreements. The people here have one more fear about the elections. Gurdev Singh of Khant said, "If the police force us, then we shall vote. But we are not very excited about it, and we are not being threatened about it, either." He said he would make the decision when the time was right, because "no one wants to die just for casting a vote." One youth of this village is sought by the police. It was told in the village that a youth named Jasmer Singh Lali is a member of the Bhindrewala Tigers Force of Khalistan. Six policemen were killed when this village was attacked by robbers.

The election this time in Punjab is strange in nature. There is no flag or slogan in the state. Instead, talks about boycotting the election are more prevalent. Surinder Singh of the Manpur village hopes that if the Akalis participate in the election, then more votes will be cast. There are no threats issued in the villages of Sadhupur and Jauli around this area. They said, "The government deceived us last time by not holding elections. How can we trust it this time?"

Talk about the government's deception is common. Harminder Singh in Punjab's village of Ghavni Kalan said, "How can we trust the government? We never know when it will say that there will be no election." He said there was no great fear of the khadkus in the village around him; however, they did not trust the government's designs. He believed that votes would be cast if elections were held on 19 February.



Terrorist activities in Hoshiarpur district are not as prevalent as they are in other areas. However, some major incidents have happened here. These include the murder of three dozen passengers in a bus in the village of Khudda and the brutal killing of the same number of people in a religious ceremony in the village of Kahari Sahri. The people are still terrorized about that scary night in Kahari Sahri. No one there is willing to talk about the political situation in the state. A young man asked this correspondent, "You tell me what is more important—elections or stopping violence?" He said that even popular governments in Punjab could not establish peace there. The government, he felt, should first stop violence and terror and provide security and safety to people's lives and property. He felt that the government should remember that scared people cannot vote objectively.

A teacher in Islamabad, a small village outside the city of Hoshiarpur, said, "It is true that votes will be cast in the city. But the question is, will the situation in Punjab be improved by voting?" He added that the problem was not one of voting, but of something else, and doubted that the government had made a thorough investigation before announcing that it would hold elections. "You can control violence to an extent by sending armed forces; however, will not the terrorists hide on those days and come attack us later?"

The people are waiting for the khadkus to decide on their plans about these elections and how they will make their presence known. They also view suspiciously anyone who asks too many questions about the elections in Punjab. On the question of elections and peace, the first priority in the people's mind is peace. There were popular governments in Punjab during the last ten years, and of course, there was presidential rule. Still, none of these governments brought peace, and as a result, the people hesitate to give any answers in order to avoid trouble.

It is also true that in various parts of the state, there is less or more fear. However, there is no place where fear has been totally removed. Be it a village, a small town, or a city, fear is still prevalent in one form or another. During the last decade in the state, the khadkus had opened fire from their AK-47 rifles and blasted bombs at will. One after another, people have joined their ranks. Once they were only 100 of them. Now there are thousands, and their number is increasing rapidly. The people who have suffered from them and those who support them in this state (claims for Article 35)... Their victims are not only the common people, but also those who implement law and order. They have raised weapons against each other repeatedly.

At this time, a powerful and strong khadku group has emerged in the name of Babber Khalsa. Most of the known khadkus in this group are from the Duaba region of Punjab. The name of the village of Jatana near Ropar's Chamkaur Sahab village is known all over because of Babber Khalsa's Balvinder Jatana. He was

killed last year in police firing. In this same fire, however, four members of his family, which included an 80-year-old woman and a handicapped child, were also burned. This fire is slowly diminishing; however, the heat is still there.

It was then suspected that the police had its hand in killing the Jatana family members. This is still a puzzle, and no one knows what actually happened. However, after this crisis, while the people of the village had become angry, they are also scared. One youth said, "It is the police that do not want elections in Punjab, because after the elections their supremacy will end. There is no one here to check the police personnel. They arrest anyone they want to and treat people any way they want to. Perhaps they will not be allowed to do so later." When asked if he would cast his vote in the 19 February election, the young man said he would do whatever the "khadku braves" told him to.

It is true that neither have the khadkus have made any clear announcement about the election, nor has there been any announcement to boycott it. The people, however, believe that one will be made later. Gurtej Singh of Asron said, "Those who have been struggling for a long time over this very important issue will not separate themselves from it. They will definitely tell us about their decision." When asked if he would follow this decision, he said, "You will find out for yourself."

At this time fear is prevalent in the state, particularly in rural areas, and the presence of the army will help reduce it. If no khadku groups issue new threats, then the percentage of people who will vote will increase. What is clear is that the Akalis' boycott of the election will not have much influence. The boycott has only influenced their minor workers.

### **Kashmir Dispute Seen Threatening National Security**

#### **Additional Wars, Partition, Possible**

92AS0579A Varnasi AJ in Hindi 18 Jan 92 p 6

[Article by Niranjana Verma: "Another War or Another Partition Is Hanging in the Balance, So..."]

[Text] If we try to get to the bottom of why Article 370, which gave a special status to Kashmir, was included in the Constitution, we will find that the primary responsibility falls on the British diplomacy and our ignorance.

The last viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, was very anxious about India's partition. He knew after studying India thoroughly that Jawarhalal had the most influence in the country. Even Mahatma Gandhi hesitated in disagreeing with Jawarhalal Nehru. Even after strong opposition by Gandhi and the unanimous decision by the All India Congress Committee in Allahabad that India would not be divided, Mr. Jagat Narain's proposal was totally ignored, and the country was divided. This situation spurred Mountbatten to become very interested in

Jammu and Kashmir because of traditional British diplomacy. He asked Maharajah Hari Singh, even before independence on 23 June 1947, to poll the people on this subject. He even advised the maharajah that if the vote turned out in favor of Pakistan, the Indian Government still would not reject him. He gave this malicious advice to the maharajah in confidence.

Mountbatten stayed on his diplomacy. It is clear from this fact that on 28 October 1947, a Pakistan-supported attack was launched on Sri Nagar, and Sardar Patel defended Kashmir with the help of 333 brave soldiers sent by air, against Lord Mountbatten's desires. However, even in this emergency situation, Lord Mountbatten continued to repeat that if the maharajah declared his wish to join India, then it would be considered a temporary measure, and the final decision would be made after the peoples' vote had been collected.

When Sardar Patel expressed his desire to send the armed forces to Kashmir, Lord Mountbatten objected and said that there was fear of a war starting between the two new dominions (India and Pakistan). However, iron man Sardar Patel sent the army to Kashmir to defend it from Pakistan's clutches.

Even after his office was eliminated (21 April 1948), Mountbatten expressed his sorrow in his final reception and blamed the maharajah, stating that his problems were a result of his ignoring his advice.

According to politicians, the Congress party missed a golden opportunity when it let the appointment of the *sadar-i riasat* (head of the state). Since the state government was under the head of the state, it could have been announced at that time that the state had been fully annexed to India, and that all Indian laws were in effect there as in the rest of India.

The Indian Government fears the clause in the annexation document that restricts outside persons from settling in Kashmir and from becoming citizens. This is not traditional practice in the state and was never in effect in history. After the Hindu rulers era, Kashmir has always been attacked by foreigners. These invaders have settled there and ruled the state. During Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time and after him, during Maharajah Gulab Singh's time, Punjabis and people of border areas were settled there. None of these were ever called outsiders. It happened after the partition when the Hindu refugees were not allowed to settle there. They have neither citizenship nor voting rights, even though most of them are permanent residents of Kashmir. Meanwhile, the Kashmir government has passed laws to open the routes to pro-Pakistani people.

Sheikh Abdulla, leader of the Muslim Conference, played a major role in implementing this restriction. He later became the leader of the National Conference. He always conspired to throw out Dogra rulers and other officials; however, he did not succeed. In order to stabilize his autonomous government, Sheikh Abdulla implemented Article 370. Maharajah Hari Singh had

imposed restrictions on the settlement of outsiders because of the repeated attacks by tribal people, their permanent settlement there, and a conspiracy against the government. Sheikh Abdulla used this as an excuse for his own vested interests. When the maharajah was fully independent and capable of running his government, he was called an autocrat and a dictator. The Indian Government introduced the democratic system and abolished all his royal laws. Was it not possible at that time to allow citizenship rights to outsiders in the state? Later, the Indian Government implemented many Indian laws in 1956. At that time, the anticitizenship law could very easily have been revoked. This way, the great dichotomy could have been removed. Kashmiri citizens can establish businesses, earn money, and have jobs, and establish residency in any part of India; however, Indian citizens cannot do so in Kashmir. Kashmir is an integral part of India, but such a statement is ridiculed all over the world. The president of India had to face many difficulties in acquiring land for post offices and military bases in Kashmir. A Kashmiri lady doctor's citizenship was revoked because she had married an "outsider."

The demand for a referendum under Article 370 is interdependent. The government, in order to hide its cowardice, repeatedly said that there was sectarian unity at the time of independence, and Sheikh Abdulla had managed to keep it that way. At that time in Udi and several other areas, terrible atrocities were committed against minority Hindus. These were stopped after the Indian military arrived there.

We should not try to cover up this problem by saying that the Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir do not want to remain united with India. There are half a dozen parties that are actively taking advantage of this. This is why the lives of Hindus and other pro-India people have become very difficult during this time of terrorism. They are forced to move to other parts of India to save their lives.

The Muslims, because of their being a majority, believe that a referendum results would be according to their wishes. Now, so long as Article 370 is in effect, their strong majority cannot be affected. The Congress party leaders know this well. They had tested it once in 1947 when, in the border state and in spite of Congress rule and the dynamic presence of the Sarahdi Gandhi Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the whole Red Shirt group joined the Muslim League. As a result the Congress camp was folded, and the entire state joined Pakistan. Knowing this well, some intelligent Congress party leaders did not agree to a referendum in Kashmir. Instead, they resorted to some legal tricks. They have now started to admit that the demand for a referendum was the result of Mr. Nehru's mistake. He agreed to have a referendum by sending such weak people like Gopal Swami Ayengar and Krishna Menon to the United Nations. Now Pakistan is repeating their words. If Article 370 cannot be revoked, then Kashmir cannot become part of India. The few Hindus that remained there have been pushed out of the state, and the government is now in the hands of pro-Pakistan people. In this kind of situation, Kashmir

can easily join its Muslim brother nation, Pakistan, and the Indians would continue to express sorrow as they did when they took a vow not to let the country be divided, and later they let it go to pieces.

We should remember the words of iron man Sardar Patel now. He said, "The future will depend on the Indian Government's strength and prudence. If we do not trust our strength, then we have no right to exist as a nation." If we review it against this background, then Dr. Murlī Manohar Joshi's statement appears to be very true. He said that separatism was born in India because of Article 370. Pakistan's desire is evident from its open tactics in Kashmir. Therefore, if we want to avoid still another war or division, then we must be very firm and make Pakistan aware of it.

### Revocation of Special Status

92AS0579B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 21 Jan 92 p 6

[Article by Desraj Goyal: "What Is it, What Is This Constitutional Section 370?"]

[Text] Article 370 of the Constitution is especially related to the situation in Jammu and Kashmir. Through this Article, the Constitution's Article 1 (which decides the borders of the country) was implemented on Jammu and Kashmir. The state joined India in October 1947. Thus, when the Constitution was adopted, Jammu and Kashmir were declared integral parts of India under plan "A."

However, this article puts this state in a special category. It was clarified in the March 1950 "white paper" after the Constitution was implemented. According to the "white paper," Section 221 has clarified the special treatment of Jammu-Kashmir. Once this section is clarified, legally and constitutionally, the status of Jammu-Kashmir is the same as that of any other state in the Indian union. This section says, "No doubt that the Indian Government is committed to the belief that this state's joining India would depend on the support of the people in the state. However, the legal fact that this state has joined India will not be affected."

It should be remembered in this context that it was decided when the state joined the Indian union that the people of the state would approve it. In response to the state's maharaja's insistence on joining India, Governor General Lord Mountbatten had written, "My government has decided to allow Kashmir to join India. According to the policy, the people of a state where there are conflicts can decide to join India. My government desires that, as soon as law and order is established and the state is freed from external attacks, the question of the state's joining [either country] be decided through a referendum."

This honest and democratic stance was misunderstood in our country and abroad. The foreigners, especially the British and the Americans, looked for a basis for a referendum in this proposal. At the same time, they

objected to the state's joining India under Article 370. Almost echoing this logic and ignoring Article 370, some Indians consider it the major hurdle in making the state an integral part of India. They say that because the laws passed by the Parliament must be approved by the state assembly, the state cannot become an integral part of India. Also, the other reason is that the state has its own separate Constitution and flag.

In an attempt to clarify this situation, Dr. D. D. Basu wrote in his book "Commentary on the Constitution of India" the following: "In this Constitution [India's], only Article 1 and Article 370 are implemented on Kashmir. Other articles cannot be implemented without the approval of the state government and the president's decision. The Parliament does not have the right to draft laws for the state. It can only pass the laws that are included in the list in the instrument of action agreed upon by the state and central governments. The preceding interim arrangement will continue until the legislative assembly of Jammu-Kashmir makes a decision. At that time, the assembly will inform the president about its recommendation, which can either reject Article 370 or amend it, as recommended by the constitutional convention."

In this context, it should be remembered that unlike the other states in the country, Jammu-Kashmir did not fully join India. It gave the Indian Government the right to manage foreign affairs, defense, and communication, while joining the union. Later, on the recommendation of the state's legislative assembly, the authority of the central government was expanded. However, neither the maharaja nor the people in the state were willing to join India. Therefore, Article 370 is an article which respects the desires of the people of the state and joins Kashmir with India according to the state agreement.

This article was added as a temporary measure. When it was discussed in the constitutional convention, Gopal Swami Ayengar, who discussed this proposal, hoped that in time, the Jammu and Kashmir state would be willing to join India just as the other states had. Dr. Basu's commentary cites political reasons for this special treatment. According to him, the Indian Government decided to let the people of the state make the final decision about a referendum on whether or not to join the Indian union. The Indian Constitution could help finalize this effort.

The situation has changed fundamentally. Pakistan, which has opposed this union, failed in its demand to have a referendum. It has one condition—that the army be removed from Kashmir, including the area controlled by Pakistan. Now there seems to be no need for a referendum, because the legislative assembly of the state has approved entry, and a major portion of the population does not question this decision.

Then why not repeal this article which, according to the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], is the psychological block against full annexation of the state? The flaw in this logic

is that the majority of the people in the state actually consider it a guarantee for the protection of their culture and identity. One can reason against the BJP logic that at a time when the rest of the country is moving toward federalism and wants to reduce the centralization in the Constitution, why take away from Jammu-Kashmir what it already has? As soon as other states are granted more rights, then Jammu-Kashmir will lose its "special" status.

The psychological block against the total annexation of Kashmir is said to be the secular character of the Indian Constitution. The secular nature of the Constitution has made Pakistan more attractive than India in the eyes of a religion-based state. If Hindu religious-cultural supremacy is established, then the majority of Muslim residents of the state will want to stay away from India. From this perspective, as Mr. Gopal Swami Ayengar had said, the time has not come when the state can be fully annexed to India.

Additionally, there is a practical problem. The Constitution had granted the Jammu-Kashmir constitutional assembly the right to ratify or amend this arrangement. Now the assembly does not exist, and there does not seem to be much hope that a similar constitutional convention will be called, which will hopefully recommend that Article 370 be repealed. If this article is repealed without the recommendation of the constitutional convention, then its relationship with India will be exactly the same as it was before it joined India. Nobody wants this to happen.

The logic that this Article has concentrated all the power on a few families in Kashmir is not valid. This complaint is prevalent in other Indian states also. Corruption and control by a few families is prevalent worldwide; even though not all countries have arrangements as stipulated in Article 370.

### **Bihar: Immigrant Issue Becomes Communal Problem**

92AS0727D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
8 Mar 92 p 8

[Article by Ravi R. Sinha, in Patna]

[Text] Both the State and the Union governments will have to soon pay attention to the growing number of persons in some eastern districts of Bihar who are not the original inhabitants of the area. If they do not do so, a vexatious issue might blow up into a crisis that might defy an easy solution.

The problem inevitably will have communal overtones because most of the alleged infiltrators are said to be Bhatia Muslims and the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad [ABVP] are organisations which are all set to launch an agitation on the lines of the movement started in Assam by the All-Assam Students' Union about a decade ago.

As things stand today, these immigrants could be categorised into three groups. In the first category would belong those who migrated to then East Pakistan immediately after the Partition but were unable to find a place for themselves and returned to their native places in the 1950s. The second category would include those who continued to live in East Pakistan till the late 1960s and came to the bordering districts of Bihar via West Bengal to save themselves from the atrocities of Pakistani troops on Bengali-speaking Muslims. The third group would comprise those who have been trickling in after the creation of Bangladesh in search of a livelihood and were given shelter by Muslims living in parts of the erstwhile Purnea District.

Those belonging to the first category soon settled down with the help of their old contacts and merged fully with the local population. It is the identity of the second category of immigrants which is often questioned. Called Bhatias, they found a ready market for their expertise in growing not only jute but also summer paddy and wheat, about which people in undivided Purnea District knew practically nothing. Those of the third category, according to people in Kishanganj, were more keen on moving out from the border areas and many of them have become construction workers even in areas adjoining New Delhi.

However, some local leaders say those being described as infiltrators were, in fact, Bhatia Muslims from Malda and Murshidabad districts of West Bengal who were displaced from their native villages during the construction of the Farakka barrage.

But according to an ABVP document in circulation, immediately after Partition, the population of Muslims in the area had come down by nearly 17 per cent but by the end of the 1950s it rose by over 44 per cent. The number of voters (when the voting age was 21) had increased two-fold in about 10 years. According to ABVP leaders, the demographic structure of the area could not have changed so drastically, just because of immigration of a few thousand families displaced by the Farakka barrage.

The ABVP argument that locals have been reduced to a minority is countered by supporters of other political parties who point out that the erstwhile Purnea District, of which Kishanganj also was a part, had always attracted outsiders because of the easy availability of land and because it was located at a point from where trading with West Bengal, the Darjeeling hills, Sikkim and Nepal was easy.

The reticence of officials is understandable because a committee constituted by the State Government in the 1980s headed by a senior IAS officer had studied the problem but its findings were not made public. Later, over 20,000 persons were asked to prove their bon fides as Indian citizens and, after receipt of their replies, about 8,000 were declared illegal immigrants.



Mr. Mohammad Mushtaque Munna, Bihar's Minister for Minority Affairs, however, has a different version about the verification. He told this correspondent that about 50,000 persons were issued show-cause notices in 1983 and he, along with the late Karpoori Thakur, had filed a writ in Patna High Court insisting that the onus to prove that someone was not an Indian citizen lay with the administration. Mr. Munna, who represents Kishanganj in the State Assembly, said as a result of this writ, the verification process was immediately stopped "at least in Kishanganj and Kochdaha." In other areas also most of the persons were found to be bona fide Indian citizens and in possession of proper records about the land and properties they owned.

However, what seems to now bother the local populace irrespective of their religious affinities is the fact that many of the Bhatias—they are known by this name because they were said to be living in low-lying marshy areas called Bhat—who had come either from some West Bengal districts or from what is now Bangladesh, have started acquiring properties and easing out Desilas (locals) of the area.

With the BJP now all set to launch an agitation against such alleged infiltration, and other political parties whose important leaders, incidentally, are also Muslims—Mr. Tariq Anwar (Cong-I), Mr. Mohammad Yunus Saleem and Mr. Syed Shahabuddin (both Janata Dal)—opposing it, inhabitants of these districts are going to have their peace disturbed. And if the trouble intensifies, the local population will get divided on communal lines.

### **Opposition Strategy Said To Keep Ruling Party in Check**

92AS0727E Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
8 Mar 92 p 8

[Article by Jagpreet Luthra in Delhi]

[Text] When the P.V. Narasimha Rao government took over eight months ago, there was a lot of uncertainty about its future because of its minority status. The factor that favoured it, however, was that the Opposition was itself in a mess and lacked confidence after its poor showing at the hustings.

Secondly, a minority Congress(I) government was still seen by the masses as a better proposition than a minority non-Congress(I) government, especially after the V.P. Singh-led National Front government ended in a fiasco.

In the last few weeks, however, the political picture appeared to have undergone a change. Both the ruling Congress(I) Party at the Centre and the Opposition parties were beginning to be more assertive and politically more active and confident.

The ruling party, which heads a minority government, got a major boost of 12 seats in its parliamentary

strength following the Punjab elections. And, more importantly, the budget for 1992-93, despite the Opposition protests against it, came as a shot in the arm for the Congress(I). The Opposition, on the other hand, was more or less fragmented till Friday, when the National Front-Left parties resolved to vote against the motion of thanks on the President's address in the Lok Sabha on Monday and support the amendments the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] will seek.

In the pre-budget announcement phase of about six weeks, the ruling party appears very shaky not because of the criticism of its economic reforms from the Opposition, but from within. Subsequent to the budget announcement there was discernible confidence among the top Congress(I) leaders when expressing their views on the new economic policy. Their major anxiety that prompted the earlier criticism, about the inflation rate going higher up, seems to have been defused by the economic package that the budget represents.

Regardless of whether the inflation rate slides down to the predicted level of 7 per cent, the very fact that the prices of essential items remain at a static level after the budget announcement is enough relief for the common man. This psychological victory for the ruling party vis-a-vis the masses is what the Opposition, in its anti-government propaganda, failed to notice.

The rate of inflation, even before the budget itself, had touched an all-time high of nearly 12 per cent. There was a widespread feeling of dread that the prices of essential items would go up further this year, more so because the prices had already shot up. However, the absence of any noticeable rise in the prices of essential commodities helped the Central Government to win a major point.

The Opposition parties' anti-government campaign rests on mainly two points: (a) that the ruling party has not lived up to its election manifesto where it promised to scale down inflation to 9 per cent by the end of March 1992, and (b) that, contrary to the claims of the government, the new proposals cannot bring down the rate of inflation even by the end of the next financial year.

Ordinary people have neither the time nor the will to bother with the kind of economic details that the Opposition leaders are talking about. For the Opposition to succeed in its campaign, the masses must be able to relate to what it is saying. It is probably this realisation that prompted the Left Front leaders who held a countrywide demonstration against the economic policies of the government to underline that their "one-day protest was only the beginning of the battle." Though they talked about ousting the government, even these leaders admitted that "it is not an easy task because the Opposition is divided."

The Congress(I) is however still in a minority despite having boosted its strength by 12 seats in the Lok Sabha after the Punjab poll. With a strength of 241 in a House that now has 531 seats occupied, it needs 266 seats for a simple majority. Barring the number of seats held by the

BJP and the National Front-Left Front combine, the remaining 26 seats are held by smaller parties, independents and unattached members who are not necessarily pro-ruling party which, in effect, means the Congress(I) will have to turn to them in case of need.

And, the need to seek their support has suddenly arisen after the major Opposition groups decided to vote against the motion of thanks on the President's address.

The decision has come as a bolt from the blue for the ruling party and alarm bells are ringing throughout the corridors of power. Monday's vote is being largely seen as a major test of survival for the government.

Observers feel that the success of the move by the major Opposition parties may not jeopardise the life of the government on constitutional but on moral grounds. Indications are that the government does not intend to continue in case it loses the vote. This is why there is panic in the ruling party which is trying to desperately ensure that all its MPs are present in the House on Monday and is, additionally, soliciting the support of allies and friendly groups.

The strength of these allies and friendly groups has incidentally acquired a crucial role. The government's anxiety about the motion of thanks is obvious while the rationale of the Opposition parties' move is not. In the last eight months, since the Narasimha Rao government took over at the Centre, the political realities have not changed so much as to give the Opposition the courage to face another general election. Nor is there any unity among them which could possibly give their intentions to oust the government a pragmatic dimension.

Though inside Parliament the Opposition ire is aimed at the government, outside, the anti-BJP cry is being heard louder than ever before, particularly among the National Front-Left parties who now seem to be fighting a common cause with the BJP over the motion of thanks. In such circumstances, their resolve to vote for the government's ouster on Monday seems politically unrealistic. But the ruling party is surely taking no chances.

Assuming that the government pulls through this crisis, it cannot afford to relax even subsequently given the present mood of the Opposition. The underlying message in the Opposition's strategy is probably to warn the government that it cannot take it for granted.

### **Congress(I) Attempts To Improve Floor Management**

92AS0727B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
8 Mar 92 p 7

[Article by K. S. Dakshina Murthy]

[Text] New Delhi, March 7—The Congress(I) is making frantic attempts to beef up its floor management techniques following poor showing by its ministers and

members on several occasions in Parliament since the Budget session began last week.

Minister of State for Railways Mallikarjun's answer that misfired, the half-hearted defence put up by the treasury benches on the so-called budget leak and Agriculture Minister Balram Jakhar's failure to provide an answer on the wheat issue appear to have spurred the Congress(I) to review its strategy on methods to handle the Opposition.

To ensure direct interaction with its MPs, the Cabinet has reportedly divided them into groups. Each of them will be advised directly by a senior minister on policy matters.

Hi-Tech Gizmos: Moves are also afoot to spruce up the Congress(I) office in Parliament and acquire hi-tech communication systems in an attempt to help keep party MPs afoot with the latest developments around the world and in the country.

Ready reference materials, personal computers and a host of other gadgets will find their way into the party office if what Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao told Congress(I) MPs early this week is any indication.

According to reports here, the Prime Minister was said to have been extremely upset at the party's showing in Parliament and quickly initiated the attempts to set right floor management.

The very first sitting, one the day of the Railway budget, started off on a wrong note for the Congress(I) with Mr. Mallikarjun stating that the V.P. Singh Cabinet was responsible for rescinding the decision to reinstate Railway employees.

Subsequently, following opposition uproar, the minister was forced to retract his statement as the decision was rescinded by a presidential order just before the fall of the V.P. Singh Government in November 1990. Railway Minister Jaffer Sharief was forced to apologise for the lapse.

Immediately after came the so-called budget leak issue and the Government appeared to have been caught on the wrong foot. With Congress(I) MPs putting up a feeble resistance, Finance Minister Manmohan Singh placed all the relevant documents in the House as the only way to stem the fierce Opposition onslaught.

The latest faux pas was the inability of senior minister Balram Jakhar to reply satisfactorily on the issue of wheat sale to India by the United States and the export-import price of wheat.

After initially agreeing to answer the question, Mr. Jakhar fell silent and sought to pass it on to the Commerce Minister who was not present in the House. The Opposition reacted with a round of protests and taunts, but the red-faced minister had no answer.

MPs Unaware: On at least one occasion during the last fortnight, it was clear that the Congress(I) MPs had no

inkling of what their leaders in the front benches had planned in consultation with the Opposition. Just before the Budget speech of Mr. Manmohan Singh on February 29, when senior Left Front member Somnath Chatterjee got up to spell out the Opposition view on the Budget, Congress(I) back-benchers created a near-pandemonium.

The MPs were not aware that the Opposition leaders were being given a chance to speak following a meeting with the government under the auspices of the Lok Sabha Speaker. So much so, when the MPs did not stop shouting, Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs Rangarajan Kumaramangalam had to rush to the seats of the protesting Congress(I) members to quieten them.

The speaker then informed the MPs about the meeting between the Government and the Opposition on the issue.

Some of the Congress(I) MPs have at times not hesitated to castigate their ministers, much to the glee of the Opposition. For instance, when Tamil Nadu MP Era Anbarasu launched a tirade against Textiles Minister Ashok Gehlot for a reply.

To a question from Mr. Anbarasu, the minister said a committee would be set up to look into it. And a provoked Mr. Anbarasu condemned all committees and wondered why the Government should take refuge in such answers. The minister seemed quite taken aback at the firing from his own colleague. And, to the next supplementary, he remarked that the Government was waiting for the committee's report (the one not yet set up). Once again, the Opposition was on its feet, this time accompanied by derisive laughter.

#### Article Views Success of BJP Unity March

92AS0637B Varnasi AJ in Hindi 6 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by Rajeshwar Prasad Gupta: "How Successful the Ekata Yatra"]

[Text] Terrorists in the Kashmir Valley had declared that they would not allow BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] President Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi to raise the Indian national flag at Sri Nagar's Lal Chowk on 26 January. They also said that if he was successful in raising the national flag, then he would not be allowed to return safely. However, Dr. Joshi not only raised the tricolor on 26 January at the Lal Chowk, but also was able to return safely.

Dr. Joshi had started his much-discussed Ekata Yatra (march for unity) last year on 11 December from Kanya Kumari. He traveled for 45 days through 14 states during this period and covered 15,000 km. His original plan was to enter Sri Nagar through the road with 100,000 followers. He traveled from Kanya Kumari to Jammu by road; however, the road from Jammu to Sri Nagar was not clear due to snowfall. Therefore, Dr. Joshi had to

leave in Jammu thousands of volunteers going to Sri Nagar. He had to take 70 other leaders to Sri Nagar by airplane.

The Ekata Yatra had been very peaceful until it entered Punjab. On 23 January, when one of the groups was passing through Punjab's Phagwara area, it was attacked by terrorists. Five of the volunteers were killed. On 24 January, Kashmiri terrorists threw a bomb at the police headquarters in Sri Nagar. Five veteran police officers were badly injured. Because of the terrorist attacks in Punjab and Kashmir, the BJP decided not to travel by road from Jammu to Kashmir. The BJP said of the Ekata Yatra that the country's unity was now in danger. The national flag was not raised in Kashmir last year on 26 January and 15 August. The tricolor had been burned at road crossings there. Over 500,000 Hindus had been forced to leave Kashmir. With encouragement from Pakistan, dozens of terrorist groups are involved in violence and antinational activities. In this situation, it is important to raise attention to bringing the nation's attention to Kashmir. We also want to tell the Kashmiris that all of India considers it to be a part of India. Kashmir belongs to India and will remain that way. According to the Indian Constitution's Article 370, a special status has been granted to Jammu and Kashmir. The BJP wants to eliminate this article. In addition to Kashmir, it is important to bring the message of nationalism and unity to every home in Assam, Punjab, and Andhra Pradesh in order to fight terrorism and work against linguistic prejudice, regionalism, and sectarianism. This was the purpose of the Ekata Yatra.

From the very beginning, except for the Shiv Sena, most of the political parties had boycotted the BJP Ekata Yatra, calling it sectarian. These parties appealed to Narasimha Rao's government to stop the Ekata Yatra. The government also called an all-party meeting on 10 December to discuss the Ekata Yatra, just one day before it was to begin. In spite of the appeal from all political parties, the government did not stop the Ekata Yatra.

After Lalkrishna Advani's chariot trip, there was a significant increase in the BJP vote bank. In the 1989 election it got 88 seats in the Lok Sabha, which increased to 119 in 1991. In addition, it also succeeded in establishing a government in Uttar Pradesh on its own. Whether the Ekata Yatra helped to increase the BJP vote bank can only be known after the next elections. However, this event gave attention to the Kashmir affair to the whole country. It informed that there are conspiracies afoot to cause unrest in the valley. It also taught a lesson to Pakistan.

The BJP has demanded of the Indian government through the Ekata Yatra that Pakistan be declared a terrorist nation through international diplomacy because of its role in Punjab and Kashmir. If Pakistan continues its terrorist activities even after international pressure, then some effective steps must be taken to stop all the training camps established in Pakistan to train the terrorists.

**Reportage on Republic Day Celebration****Military Parade in New Delhi**

92AS0623A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 27 Jan 92  
p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 26 January—The country's defence preparedness and its rich cultural heritage was on full view at the 43rd Republic Day parade in the Capital today.

The President, Mr. R. Venkataraman, took the salute at the 98-minute parade, as thousands watched the proceedings from the stands between Vijay Chowk and India Gate. The 11-km-long parade route was marked with varied thematic display of eye-catching pageants and tableaux.

However, owing to a resource crunch and austerity measures, the mechanised columns were reduced and the duration of the parade shorter by 15 minutes. There were no mechanised columns of the Air Force and Navy.

The day's programme began with the Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, paying homage at Amar Jawan Jyoti to the memory of the soldiers who laid down their lives for the country. Wreaths were laid by him and the three Service chiefs, the Last Post was sounded and a two-minute silence observed.

The President of the Republic of Portugal, Dr. Mario Soares, was the guest of honour at the parade. He was accompanied by his wife. Among the VIPs present were Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, former Prime Minister, Mr. V.P. Singh, several former Ministers and present Ministers.

The three Service chiefs received Mr. Venkataraman as he arrived in a car accompanied by the guest of honour, and escorted by his bodyguards dressed in their ceremonial best. As he unfurled the Tricolour, the guns boomed in salute and the National Anthem played.

Soon after, four MI-17 helicopters of 129 Helicopter Unit flew in formation over Rajpath showering rose petals. Leading the formation was Group Captain Baljeet Singh. The lead helicopter had the National Flag and the one behind it carried the Inter-Services Ensign.

The parade was led by the General Officer Commanding, Delhi Area, Major General Satish Chandra Kashyap. Following him were the winners of the highest gallantry awards.

The Army contingent was led by 61 Cavalry, the men mounted on gorgeous chestnut horses. The only surviving Calvary regiment in the world, it was followed by Army Service Corps mounted contingent which has the distinction of being the largest and one of the oldest logistic services of the Army.

Leading the Mechanised Column were T-72 Tanks from the 67 Armoured Regiment. The contingent was led by

Capt. Akashdeep Bhanot. The tanks rolled down Rajpath to a round of applause. Closely following were five T-55 tanks of the 73 Armoured Regiment.

Behind them were the largest 105 mm Indian Light Field Gun, the pride of Indian Artillery followed by a contingent of 230 Medium Regiment. These guns have deadly fire power with their 155 mm calibre ammunition.

Multi-barrel rocket launchers, OSA-AK surface to air missiles, 156 Light Air Defence Missile and the indigenously produced Radar Fax 100 Cymbeline were next in line. The Field Artillery Radar is capable of locating mortars up to 20 km. This Radar and its personnel are part of the 126 Surveillance and Target Acquisition Battery.

Two heavy AM-50 Bridge Vehicles came down the Vijay Chowk. They belong to the First Armoured Engineer Regiment of the Madras Sappers. Behind them was the column of sophisticated PMS Mobile Bridge Equipment. The two vehicles on display were bridging vehicles of the PMS Bridge each carrying a portion which could be mechanically launched from the vehicle and joined together to form a bridge.

Then came the marching contingents led by the Bengal Engineer Group, followed by Corps of Signals, the Madras Regimental Centre, Rajput Regimental Centre, the 58 Gorkha Training Centre and the Jammu and Kashmir Rifles along with their respective bands. The Corps of Signals made its maiden appearance. The regiment was awarded colours by the President in February 1965.

Attractive float: The naval marching contingent which was followed by three naval floats depicting 25 years of the Submarine Arm, marine commando operations and protection of marine resources was greeted with much applause. The Air Force had an attractive float depicting various adventure sports.

Heading the marching contingents of the paramilitary forces was the smartly dressed contingent of the Border Security Force. And then the eagerly awaited gaily accounted camels of the BSF followed by their unique band, also on the camels.

The Central Reserve Police Force was represented by its women personnel. The contingent led by Assistant Commandant Annie Abraham, comprised 144 constable, non-commissioned officers and sub-inspectors. The marching contingents of the Indo-Tibetan Border Police, Coast Guard, Central Industrial Security Force, Railway Protection Force, Delhi Police, Fire Service and Home Guards followed.

A glimpse of the rich and diverse cultural heritage of the country was provided by the 22 tableaux which formed a part of the parade.



### Text of President's Speech

92AS0623B Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Jan 92  
p 6

[Text] New Delhi, 25 January—Following is the text of the President, Mr. R. Venkataraman's broadcast to the nation today, on the eve of the 43rd Republic Day.

"On the eve of our 43rd Republic Day, I have great pleasure in conveying to all fellow citizens, living in India and abroad, my cordial felicitations and greetings.

"This is a cherished anniversary for us, it was on this day in 1950 that our country was welded into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and the people acquired fundamental rights to liberty, equality and fraternity. We remember today the sagacious Dr. Rajendra Prasad our first President of the Republic, our beloved first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru—the architect of modern India—and the Indomitable Sardar Vallabhai Patel who brought the diverse princely authorities under the unified control of the new Republic. The national tricolour, which had inspired us during the struggle for freedom went up on that historic day with a flutter of confidence and expectation. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan in an address to the Constituent assembly on the day the Flag was officially adopted said and I quote:

"The flag tells us be ever alert, be ever on the move, go forward; work for a free, flexible, compassionate, decent, democratic society in which Christians, Sikhs, Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists will all find a safe shelter." (Unquote)

Every word of that passage from our philosopher-statesman is vital for the Republic: Flexibility, compassion, decency; tolerance of other views and restraint in the expression of one's own; patience in the face of provocation; empathy for fellow human beings in distress. These are the hallmarks of civilised behaviour. Democracy cannot be sustained except on the solid foundation of civilised behaviour.

The framers of the Constitution knew that if our freedom and our democracy were to ring true, our society must exhibit a readiness to tolerate and assimilate diversities of outlook.

Parliamentary democracy: Adult franchise and universal suffrage also ensured that the diverse facets of national opinion would articulate themselves at the hustings, with ease and effectiveness. The institution of parliamentary democracy with several parties presenting their programmes of action through election manifestos afforded citizens a freedom in the choice of party and government. The kaleidoscope of public opinion has been turned ten times by us in as many general elections. Parties have been returned to power overwhelmingly, rejected equally decisively. With each election, the nation has matured and marched forward in the path of democracy.

Long before the Constitution was framed, Mahatma Gandhi, addressing the Second Round Table Conference said and I quote:

"I shall work for an India, in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice; an India in which there shall be no high class or low class of people; and an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony. There can be no room in such an India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs. Women shall enjoy the same rights as men..." (Unquote)

Various Articles of the Constitution have declared discrimination by the State as between citizen and citizen on the ground of religion, race, caste, sex or place or birth, illegal. By throwing open all public places to all citizens, by abolishing untouchability, by offering equality of opportunity in matters relating to employment and by guaranteeing equality before the law and equal protection of the laws, it has secured for all of us the principles of Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity as envisaged in the preamble to the Constitution.

Furthermore, the system of parliamentary democracy has ensured that the State shall be accountable to the people for everyone of its actions. Through interpellations, motions and debates, the executive is called upon to convince the people that their measures subserve national interests and the welfare of the people. Unless the institution of Parliament is appropriately utilised, it will not fulfill the role for which it has been created.

If Mother India has been served well by the institution of parliamentary democracy, it has also been benefited by the instrument of planned economic development.

Over the last four decades and more, our farmers who constituted 70 per cent of the electorate have also demonstrated amazing skill in adopting new farm-practices. As a result, our granaries are full. Our industrial sinews strong enough to place us in the frontline among manufacturers of basic industrial goods. Indian industry has shown an extraordinary capacity to produce goods of great variety and sophistication. We have achieved modest success in not only meeting the internal demand but external markets as well.

India's journey along the road of scientific and technological advance proceeds apace, with marked achievements in the realms of telecommunications, biotechnology, oceanography and space research. Our programme for the peaceful uses of atomic energy continues to give us satisfying results.

Our impressive gains in GDP would normally have given us a much higher standard of life had it not been neutralised by the stupendous growth in our population. It is becoming increasingly difficult to provide our present and ever-expanding population with a reasonable standard of living. Recent initiatives taken to spread literacy among our adult population, especially our women, have come not a day too soon. But much more

needs to be done in this direction. It is time a strategy was devised to reach India's rural women with a simple and efficacious programme in order to save them the burden of an unmanageable family.

If our efforts at economic development and poverty alleviation have had to reckon with the rock of overpopulation, our efforts at creating a national ethos meet with challenges of a deeper kind. I refer to the impediments being placed on our path by three negative forces which are unremittably at work. These are the cult of terrorism, the virus of communal hatred and an invisible but most corrosive phenomenon: a pervasive slackening in national discipline.

**Terrorism:** Bullets and bombs have no place in a democracy where avenues for constitutional redressal exist. And yet public servants on duty, political figures, journalists, and innocent men, women and children have been—and are being—killed and taken hostage in many parts of the country on almost a daily basis. Punjab, the Valley of Kashmir, Assam, several parts of the North East and certain areas in south and central India have been witness of cold, calculated and bizarre acts of terrorism. Our security forces and our Army, wherever deployed, have shown tremendous grit and patience. I would like to take this opportunity to compliment them on their courage and valour.

But it is necessary now to go beyond weeding out terrorism's toxic plants. We must ensure that the causes and conditions which breed terrorism are eliminated. This would call for a more vigorous implementation of land reforms, of wastelands development, of reduction of disparities and provision of adequate employment opportunities of our youth.

We must not assume that the cash nexus is sufficient to fulfill human aspirations. Cultural and regional identities need to be assured and reassured that they are safe in a democratic polity such as ours. We must simultaneously offer the constitutional and democratic path for the ventilation of grievances and for the realisation of local aspirations.

The new government's initiatives to bring a healing touch to some of the nation's deep pains are therefore a matter of great satisfaction. Consultation, conciliation and concord are time-tested remedies.

It is a matter of shame and sorrow that we have not been able to prevent communal and caste violence in different parts of the country. Innocent religious processions or festivals end up in a violent eruption. Very often the cause for the clash is absurdly trivial and yet it leaves a trail of death and destruction in which, more often [than] not, women and children are the most unfortunate sufferers. All restraint, all civility, seems to evaporate when frenzy overtakes even sensible men. Such instances of violence are a blot on our cultural heritage and our national image as a non-violent and peaceful people.

**Increasing indiscipline:** This brings me to the third negative factor I mentioned, namely, increasing, indiscipline and the palpable erosion of faith in the rule of law. Individuals, political organisations, professional groups, trade unions take all too quickly to the path of agitation and obstruction. The result is a breakdown in public order. One of the most distinguished framers of our Constitution, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar said as long back as 1947:

The recent happenings in different parts of the country have convinced me more than ever, that all the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Constitution must be subject to public order, security and safety....

The exercise of one's rights of others. There is a story, that an Englishman walked along swinging his walking stick and it struck the nose of another person. When the injured person objected, the wielder of the stick said that England had ensured freedom to all people and that in swinging his stick he was only exercising his right. The objector then replied "Sir, your freedom ends where my nose begins."

It is a truism that while in a dictatorship, laws are enforced, in a democracy laws are voluntarily observed. The rule of law in a democracy must be maintained by inner restraints, by self-discipline. But maintained, it must be. Without discipline, democracy loses its meaning. Gandhiji had once said that swaraj means two things—self-rule and self-restraint. We in India have the former, namely, self-rule. We also have, in a large measure, self-reliance as well. But of self-restraint we seem to be in short-supply.

The history of civilisation is the history of human endeavour to replace a chaotic society by an orderly one where people live in peace and harmony, avoid conflicts and settle differences by discussions or by judicial processes. Early man settled differences by force but the civilised man resorted to peaceful measures for resolving differences. Unless the country accepts this basic principle, there can be no peace, harmony or progress. Principles of natural justice do provide for correction of errors of the machinery for settlement of differences and should be resorted to in case of need. The tendency to take unwelcome conclusions to the streets spells disaster to the future of the nation.

**Financial crisis:** The nation is undergoing acute economic and financial crisis and it is the duty of every citizen to contribute his mite for the recovery and rehabilitation of the economy. There is urgent need to maximise production and ensure his equitable distribution so that the weaker sections are not left to fend for themselves. Nothing that militates against fullest utilisation of all existing capacities in agriculture, industry, trade, commerce, communications and banking should be tolerated or encouraged. If we are to emerge from the crisis, a moratorium should be declared voluntarily at the national level for at least two years on all bandhs,

strikes and lockouts or any other activity such as "go-slow" and "work-to-rule" which impedes economic development. This is a duty which we owe to our own children and progeny.

Friends, the bipolar division of the world is now virtually a thing of the past; the cold war has ended, international relations are moving towards a re-definition, with old juxtapositions becoming obsolete. India's role in a world that is no longer bi-polar will continue to be important. We cannot assume that the new emerging world order will be free of strains. Conflagrations can occur even in the changed scenario and the exploitation of weak nations can acquire new forms. The principles underlying our policy of non-alignment and panchashil will therefore continue to be relevant to the world.

The recent visits to India by the Prime Ministers of Nepal and China gave us an opportunity to continue our dialogue with these two ancient neighbours. It is our hope that a solution to the differences between India and China will be found soon. It is equally our desire to normalise relations with Pakistan. But the active encouragement and assistance rendered to militants in Punjab and in Kashmir from across the border, stands in the way [of] normalisation. India wants and will work for peace; but India will not compromise territorial on its integrity and sovereignty. [sentence as received]

I have great pleasure in once again offering Republic Day greetings to the sons and daughters of India; to our kisans and mazdoors; to our village artisans; to our entrepreneurs; scientists and technologists; to our administrators; creative artistes; professionals; teachers and students. It gives me special pleasure, as Supreme Commander, to extend my greetings to all our Defence Forces and commend their valour in guarding our borders under extreme conditions.

More than 2,000 year ago, the Tamil Saint Tiruvalluvar said Palkuzhuvum Paazh cheyyum utpaghagum venthalaikkum kolkurumbum ilathu naadu.

Rendered in English, the verse means: That is a great nation which is not divided into warring sects, which is free from murderous anarchists and which has no traitors within its bosom to ruin it.

Let us build that India, through discipline in thought, word and deed, through unity among all classes of people and through selfless service to the nation.

#### Reaction From Trade Unions

92AS0623C Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Jan 92  
p 6

[Text] The Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU) and the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) have reacted strongly to the reference made by the president, Mr.R. Venkataraman, to trade unions taking to the path

of agitation and obstruction in his address to the nation on the eve of the Republic Day.

A statement issued here today on behalf of the CITU secretariat, recorded its strong protest at what they called the "gross misuse" of the presidential address for attacking the trade union movement. The release said the president's statement that "trade unions take all too quickly to the path of agitation and obstruction" is an insult to the movement. The observations made by the president, the release added, had only brought down the prestige of the highest office.

Referring to the president's call for declaring a voluntary moratorium at the national level for at least two years on all bandhs, strikes and lockouts or any other activity such as go-slow and work-to-rule the statement says: "The CITU deeply regrets to note that government of India has stooped so low that even the presidential address is influenced by the IMF and World Bank conditionalities."

The AITUC felt that 'strikes and lockouts' could not be put at par. It regretted that the president had not made any mention of the new economic policies being pursued by the government which include the exit policy that hangs the proverbial 'diamonds sword' over workers.

There is no mention of the miseries being heaped on the poor and the working class by the abnormal rise in prices of essential commodities as a result of the economic policy. "Under the circumstances to expect the workers to freeze the right to strike for two years is to disarm them against attacks on them by the employers and the government," the AITUC said.

Our calcutta Staff Reporter writes.

Unfortunate, says Basu: The president's call for a two-year voluntary moratorium on strikes and lockouts has been received with reservations by the Marxists and the trade unions in West Bengal.

According to a report in the GHANASHAKTI, the party organ of the CPI(M), the chief minister, Mr. Jyoti Basu has described it as 'unfortunate' saying that his speech was a reflection of the conditionalities of the IMF loan and the World Bank. He said, in a class society, strike was the only instrument of a worker against exploitation and oppression. This right could not be snatched. "Only those who wanted to sell off the country's economy would be inspired by this speech," Mr. Basu said.

The CITU president, Mr. Manoranjan Roy and its general secretary, Mr. Chittabrata Majumdar, said the president's speech reminded them of the period of emergency. The snatching of the rights of the working class will not be accepted, they said.

The INTUC president, Mr. Subroto Mukherjee expressed serious apprehension that the ideas mentioned in the speech might be translated into action by the government.

## **Movement Opposing Foreign Investment, Products Said Growing**

92AS0637D Varnasi AJ in Hindi 5 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by Vijay Narayan: "The Growing Strides of the Swadeshi Movement"]

[Text] On 6 and 7 January, the pro-Gandhi parties, Hindu Mazdur Kisan Panchayat, and several other groups met at the headquarters of Sarav Sewa Sangh at Wardha and organized a conference to resolve self-sufficiency and swadeshi [using domestically produced goods]. It was decided at this conference to start a village-based campaign to encourage the use of things produced in this country. At the same time, it was also decided to stop the entry of multinational foreign companies into India. The plan is to confiscate the land that the Indian Government will give to these multinational companies to start their businesses.

This talk about swadeshi campaign has been echoing since the Indian Government decided to grant permission and subsidies to foreign companies six months ago. This permission is so easy to obtain that any company from any country can come to India and start a business. The special treatment given by the Indian Government has forced thinkers, politicians, and intellectuals to think and to realize that this will not only endanger this country's economic, but also its political independence, because both of these are interdependent. Therefore, at the conference in Wardha, the major resolution about buying Indian goods is being called the "independence resolution."

Even though the parties that have joined the National Front and other left-wing parties have not used the vocabulary associated with buying Indian-made goods, they too have announced that they will start demonstrations against giving all those subsidies to multinational companies to start businesses in India. The Marxist Communist party not only condemned the Indian Government's policy in its national conference, but also made it clear that the government should be removed. If there is any political party left, then it is the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP]. Even though BJP President Lalkrishna Advani said during the last two to three months during his trip to Germany and the United States of America that his party supports Narasimha Rao's economic policy, there are now two camps in his party because of the increasing prices. One camp of this party is not only opposing the government's economic policy, but is also talking about encouraging the development of national industries. This shows that the campaign for swadeshi has not only become a major national campaign, but it can also cause major upheavals in our national politics.

During the last seven to eight months, our country has had to kneel in front of the World Bank, the IMF, and industrialized nations and accept all their conditions, and both the government and the opposition are responsible for this situation. Because of the major financial

crisis that the country was facing and the acute problem of payment of foreign debts, the government has had to bow down to the World Bank and the IMF. Because of the devaluation of the rupee, India's foreign debt has increased by 50 percent. The fact is that the World Bank, the IMF, and the wealthy nations all belong to the same category, because the World Bank and the IMF are controlled by these wealthy nations. Also, these organizations were established by these countries for their own benefit. In other words, when a rich country was in financial trouble, these organizations would help that country. When the poorer countries go to these organizations for debts, they have to mortgage their economic and political independence.

Last June and July, when the Indian government was bowing down in front of these organizations, the opposition parties were in a dilemma over whether to support or let fall the minority government. Perhaps they were not willing to accept the responsibility of helping this government to fall. They could not join and threaten this government that if it did not give up its economic policy, then they would throw it out. The opposition parties showed some opposition within the Parliament and outside of it. Only George Fernandes opposed it, and the Janata Dal did not give him support. He took the support of Hindu Mazdur Kisan Panchayat, of which he is the president, to have a conference last August in Bombay to encourage the swadeshi campaign. He raised slogans against the entry of multinational companies into India, but it appears that not many people heard him at that time.

During the following months, and at the order of the World Bank and the IMF, prices of all food items were raised dramatically. This was followed by increases in electricity rates and railways and bus fares. The practice of moving public sector concerns into the private sector was also started at that time. Laborers all over the country went on a strike for one day in November to protest this practice. It appears that strikes are being held at the Center and in various states. Now the situation is so bad that workers have been laid off in various industries, and future employment opportunities are expected to decrease.

The foundation of any country's economic development depends on its national industries and self-dependence. After World War II, Japan and Germany became two examples of this. The countries that are trapped in foreign debts have their economies destroyed. India did not borrow money for its needs, but to meet the desires of fashionable people. The foreign companies operating in India are mostly engaged in making cosmetic and fashion products. Two years ago, the Pepsi-Cola Company brought in its beverage and catsup. Now Coca-Cola is competing to sell its beverage. From 1956 to 1977, Coca-Cola made 560 million rupees in India. If India wants to revitalize its economy, it must use the base of national industries. Therefore, the feelings for swadeshi should be rekindled, so that our love for foreign-made goods ends. We must see if the new line being drawn for



the swadeshi campaign succeeds in raising a philosophical revolution among the people.

### **Economist Calls For Controls on Runaway Inflation**

92AS0637C Varnasi AJ in Hindi 10 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by Anil Kumar Panday: "First Priority Needs To Be Given to Controlling Inflation"]

[Text] In a democratic system, while all kinds of doors are open to the people, one thing is kept very secret. It is called the budget. No information is given to anyone until it is presented to the Parliament. Unfortunately, in order to get prior information about the budget in our country, officials are bought and sold. This has been happening for the last several years. This is a breach of trust with the people, and we must stop it.

The month of February is a month of sensational information and activities. Major investors establish their camps in Delhi. Cigarettes and items like detergent disappear from cigarette stores to general stores. Everyone is trying to double his investment. The information about the budget reaches the corner "pan shops" [beetle leaf shops] before it reaches the Parliament floor. A strange scare is felt everywhere. The people wonder which commodity's price will rise and by how much. Everyone from the totally ignorant to the very intelligent knows that prices will increase in February and March. The situation is so bad now that the prices of consumer goods are increased even before the budget is introduced.

It has been the people who had to bear the burden of the two general elections held during the last two years. The Gulf crisis and the loans pardoned by V.P. Singh caused serious problems in the country, resulting in price increases. We just cannot deny this bitter truth. The Congress Party declared in its election promises that inflation will be controlled within 100 days of its coming to power. What actually happened is in front of you. The rich kept getting richer, and the poor got squeezed even more. The increase in prices has broken the backs of the poor.

More than 70 percent of India's population consider their main occupation agriculture, and two-thirds of these farmers are marginal or small farmers. They cannot grow enough food for their own use, much less for selling. In this situation, the price increase of agricultural products will benefit only a handful of major farmers. The price of these agricultural products has become unbearable for the poor. They work hard all day long and barely make enough for their dinner.

Inflation is increasing in spite of government claims to the contrary. The situation has become so bad that it has increased over 15 percent in the last few months. The whip of inflation falls on the backs of the poor, while their inflation allowance is never increased. Unlimited price increases are effected in coal, food grains, oil, and electricity. The prices continued to increase during the

1990-91 fiscal year, and no change was effected in the tendency to increase prices. During 1991, the wholesale price index increased by 19.7 percent, which is far more than the 9.1 percent increase in 1989-90. Thus, this inflation affects the poorer sections of society more. The price increases of necessary items like coal and oil result in increases in transportation costs, which in turn affects the prices of everything else. Well-known economist Findley Shiraj believes that if a small pebble is thrown in the pond of the economic system, the ripples reach every part of it.

Only time will tell how much prices will increase after the next budget. The important thing, however, is that any price increase in consumer goods will make it impossible to bear. We must stop wasting money on white elephant type projects. We must also control government spending due to corruption and extortion.

Balance must be maintained between income and expenditure. One-fourth of the total national income is spent on interest on foreign debts. Therefore, we must take steps toward self-sufficiency.

Even though the prime minister has expressed concern over the increase in prices, this will not help anyone. The prices of coal, electricity, and steel have also increased. The prices of sugar and food grains have also increased. Instead of increasing prices, we should try to reduce production costs, and the government must pay attention to it. Stability in the prices of goods gives consistency to progress efforts. For a healthy economy, we must effectively control prices. Agriculture is the cornerstone of the Indian economy. Instead of ridiculing it, we must develop a strong and effective agricultural plan and implement it to increase our agricultural production.

### **Plans To Increase Defense Exports Said on Hold**

92AS0637A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 5 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by K. Badrinath: "The Effort To Increase Defense Exports Is on Hold"]

[Text] New Delhi, 4 February—It appears that the efforts to increase defense exports will not be successful in the near future. The main reason for this is that India's trade agreement with the Soviet Union is in a very uncertain phase. In addition, our country also lacks resources.

Let us forget increasing the export of defense-related spare parts, implements, and bullets. The 2,490,000,000 rupees export target set for 1991-92 does not seem to be attainable. Of this, 1,600,000,000 was reserved for ordinance factories and 890 million for public-sector units.

Finance Minister for State Krishan Kumar told financial reporters on 9 November that India's defense exports would reach 5 billion rupees. He had expressed hope that the country would gain 2 billion rupees in foreign currency for selling old and unusable defense equipment.

On 3 November, Central Defense Minister Sharad Pawar explained a plan according to which exports would have been increased by 10 billion rupees by the end of this year. India had proposed the export of mountain guns, field guns, tanks, and equipment made in the Soviet Union to southeast Asian countries. Because of the Gulf war and changes at the international level, there have been problems in increasing defense exports. The ordinance factory got only two orders from Yugoslavia and Vietnam. Because of the civil war raging between the Croatian and Serbian states of Yugoslavia, however, the United Nations has stopped the export of weapons. As a result, a deal worth \$7.5 million has been suspended.

Thus, the ordinance factory only received an order from Vietnam worth \$90,000. The deals with Bangladesh, Malaysia, Indonesia, Maldives, the United States, Belgium, Austria, and Nepal are very small. In the beginning, Malaysia and Indonesia had shown great interest in purchasing India's 105 light field guns. According to our sources, this deal was not finalized.

In spite of all these problems, efforts are being made to decrease the costs of this equipment and to maintain high standards in order to compete in the world market. For example, the price of the MiG-27M plane is determined by the Bangalore HAL at 1.772 billion rupees. The sale price for this plane has been set by the partner company at 3.717 billion rupees. Similarly, the Donier-228 plane is priced by the HAL at \$3.5 million, and the partner company is pricing it at \$3.9 million.

The defense industry believes that the income from exports is less than the total production price. In 1990-91, a total of 13.13 billion rupees were invested, while the income from exports was only 771.5 million rupees. According to several sources, until the private sector produces similar equipment, the situation will not improve.

Thus, there are problems in increasing defense production, and plans to increase exports have been suspended because we are waiting for development of new relationships with the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

### Bank Relaxes More Curbs on Imports

92AS0697A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 13 Feb 92  
p 1

[Text] Bombay, Feb 12 (PTI)—In yet another significant bout of relaxation, the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) today announced the withdrawal of prescribed minimum cash margin for imports other than capital goods and of 25 percent surcharge on the interest rate on import finance.

The removal of cash margin requirement comes into immediate effect and that of surcharge by banks from February 13, an RBI announcement said here today.

The banks had also been advised to release to the importers, cash margins on imports as prescribed by the RBI, the announcement said, adding that they were, however, free to maintain the usual margins while financing imports.

The manner and quantum of such margins had been left to the discretion of the banks, it said.

Earlier, addressing a one-day seminar on "industrial prospects under the new economic order," organised by the Maharashtra Economic Development Council, RBI Governor S. Venkitaramanan said the RBI had suggested to the Government further radical changes in the Foreign Exchanges Regulation Act (FERA) rules.

With many more liberalisation measures likely to be introduced in the coming budget, Mr Venkitaramanan said he expected a positive and favourable response from the trade and industry sector, which would in turn enable the government to carry out the process still further.

### Press Reports on Various Economic Indicators

#### GDP Growth, Savings Decline

92AS0700A New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Feb 92  
p 5

[Figures as published]

[Text] India's gross domestic product (GDP) grew at a higher rate of 5.6 percent in 1990-91 against the earlier estimate of five percent while its gross domestic savings declined marginally to 21.9 percent in the previous year, reports UNI.

According to the quick estimates released by the Central Statistical Organisation (CSO), the national income rose by 5.8 percent and has been estimated at Rs[rupees]186,429 crore against Rs 176,159 crore in 1989-90 at constant (1980-81) prices.

At current prices, the national income—net national product at factor cost—is estimated in 1990-91 at Rs 416,349 crore, compared to Rs 351,850 crore in 1989-90, an increase of 18.3 percent during the year.

The rate of gross capital formation at current prices in 1990-91 stood at 24.6 percent, almost the same level of 24.7 percent observed in 1989-90.

The GDP at factor cost and constant prices in 1990-91 has been estimated at Rs 210,477 crore against Rs 199,329 crore in 1989-90, showing a growth of 5.6 percent against six percent in the previous year on the basis of provisional estimates.

At current prices, GDP in 1990-91 has been estimated at Rs 472,599 crore against Rs 401,569 crore in 1989-90, an increase of 17 during the year.

The per capita income (net national product at factor cost) in real terms has been estimated at Rs 2227 for

1990-91 against Rs 2,148 for 1989-90, registering an increase of 3.7 percent during the year.

The per capita income at current prices is estimated at Rs 4,974 in 1990-91 compared to Rs 4,291 for the previous year.

All sectors of the economy contributed to the growth of GDP during the year, says the release issued by the CSO of the Department of Statistics of the Planning Ministry.

The agricultural sector recorded a growth rate of 4.3 percent during 1990-91 compared to 2.6 percent achieved during the previous year.

According to the all India final estimates of the foodgrain crops for 1990-91, released by the Agriculture Ministry, there was an increase of three percent in the production of foodgrains from 171.04 million tonnes in 1989-90 to 176.23 million tonnes in 1990-91 mainly attributable to increase in rice (1.4 percent), wheat (9.4 percent), barja (3.9 percent), barley (10.5 percent) and pulses (9.4 percent) despite the fall in jowar (-7.9 percent), maize (-6.0 percent), ragi (-15.8 percent) and small millets (-6.1 percent).

As for the other crops, the Ministry reported an increase in the production of oilseeds (9.1 percent), sugarcane (6.5 percent), jute (10.2 percent), mesta (7.7 percent), tobacco (1.2 percent), potato (3.3 percent), onion (2.7 percent), tapioca (3 percent) and guar seed (80.2 percent) and fall in kapas (-14.8 percent), dry chillies (-13.9 percent), turmeric (-24.3 percent) and ginger (-4.9 percent).

Per capita income in order to derive the GDP at market prices, the GDP at factor cost is adjusted by adding indirect taxes net of subsidies. As the various components of expenditure on gross domestic product, for example, consumption expenditure and capital formation, are normally measured at market prices, the discussion in the following paragraphs is in terms of market prices only.

Private final consumption expenditure (PFCE) in the domestic market at current prices works out to Rs 341822 crore in 1990-91 at against 291469 crore in 1989-90.

PFCE thus formed 64.6 percent of GDP at market prices.

At constant (1980-81) prices PFCE works out to Rs 157490 crore in 1990-91 as against Rs 151,883 crore in 1989-90. The per capita expenditure in 1990-91 works out to Rs 4084 at current prices and Rs 1882 at constant (1980-81) prices as against Rs 3555 and Rs 1852 respectively in 1989-90.

The expenditure on almost all items both at current and constant prices increased in 1990-91 as compared to the previous year. The share of food items as a whole and that of transport services in the total consumption expenditure increased in 1990-91 as compared to the

previous year, while the share of clothing, rent, fuel and power, furniture, furnishing, appliances, medical care and health services, recreation and cultural services had a declining trend.

Gross domestic saving at current prices in 1990-91 amounted to Rs 116054 crore as against Rs 100471 crore in 1989-90, constituting 21.9 percent of the GDP at market prices as against 22.3 percent in the previous year.

The saving of the household sector went up by 19.8 percent from Rs 81319 crore in 1989-90 to Rs 97441 crore in 1990-91 and that of the private corporate sector by 15.1 percent from Rs 12098 crore in 1989-90 to Rs 13923 crore in 1990-91.

### Trade Deficit Declines

92AS0700B Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 13 Feb 92 p 15

[Text] New Delhi, February 12. The country's trade deficit during April-December 1991 declined sharply to \$1,628 million from \$4,832 million during the corresponding period of the previous year. The trade data for the first three quarters of the current financial year (April-December) released by the commerce ministry today shows that in rupee terms, the trade gap narrowed down to Rs 3,906[rupees]crores from Rs 8,534 crores.

The lower trade deficit was primarily because of import compression. During April-December 1991, imports declined by 20.54 percent to \$14,271.81 million from \$17,961.63 million during the same period of the previous year, reflecting the continued squeeze on imports.

The upward trend in the growth rate of exports to the general currency area (GCA), noticed first in October 1991, was maintained. The growth rate in dollar terms accelerated from 5.53 percent (up to October) to 5.82 percent (up to November) and then to 6.34 percent (up to December). In rupee terms, the corresponding growth rates were 41.12 percent, 42.77 percent and 44.44 percent respectively.

During April-December 1991, exports to GCA amounted to \$11,310 million against \$10,635 million during the corresponding period of the previous year.

The decline in exports to the rupee payment area (RPA), experienced during most of the current financial year, slowed down to 46.53 percent in dollar terms and 27.37 percent in rupee terms at the end of December 1991. During April-November 1991, RPA exports had declined by 50.34 percent in dollar terms and 33 percent in rupee terms.

A quarterwise analysis of export performance during the nine months of the current financial year shows that the value of exports during the third quarter this year exceeded exports during the same quarter last year. Exports during the third quarter of the current financial

year were valued at \$4,530 million against \$4,476 during the corresponding quarter of the previous year.

During the current financial year, exports in the second quarter (\$4,114 million) were marginally better than the exports in the first quarter (\$3,999 million) and exports in the third quarter were an improvement over exports in the second quarter.

During April-December 1991, the aggregate value of exports (GCA and RPA taken, together) was estimated at \$12,643.50 million, lower than exports of \$13,129.28 million during the corresponding period of 1990. In rupee terms, however, exports during April-December 1991 valued at Rs 30,332.02 crores were higher than exports of Rs 23,188.94 crores during April-December 1990.

#### Industrial Output Down

92AS0700C Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA  
in English 13 Feb 92 p 15

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 12 (PTI): The general index of industrial production recorded a decline of 0.7 percent in the first six months of 1991-92 compared with a growth of 8.6 percent in the same period of 1990-91.

The manufacturing sector also registered a decline of 1.9 percent during the period compared with a growth of 13.6 percent, according to official sources.

During April-December 1991-92, the production in basic and infrastructure industries in general showed a good performance.



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